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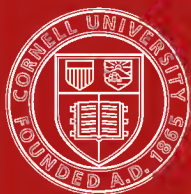
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Russia at the bar of the American people



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# Russia at the Bar of the American People

*A MEMORIAL OF KISHINEF*

*Records and Documents Collected  
and Edited by*

**ISIDORE SINGER, Ph.D.**

*Projector and Managing Editor of "The Jewish Encyclopedia"*



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To the Memory of

# Leo Napoleon Levi

Born September 15, 1856,  
at Victoria, Texas

Died January 13, 1904,  
at New York City

President of the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith

Author of the Kishinef Petition





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## P R E F A C E

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IN a few days the cemetery of Kishinef will again be the melancholy center of a dramatic scene: hundreds of men, women, and children, following Jewish traditions, will attend the erection of tombstones in honor and memory of the martyrs of the massacres of April 19 and 20, 1903. This work, appearing, as it does, simultaneously with the sad ceremony in the Beth-Olam of far distant Bessarabia, is designed as a memorial of free and prosperous American Israel, to be placed upon the graves of the unfortunate victims of Russian barbarism. However, not only to keep in sacred remembrance our poor brethren and sisters and their innocent children, who, on the holy Easter Days of the Greek Orthodox Church of holy Russia, were pitilessly massacred under the very eyes of the soldiery and police of His Imperial Majesty Czar Nicholas (II.) Alexandrovitch, but at the same time to draw up with absolute impartiality a memorial to be presented at the bar of the civilized world and, in particular, of its noblest and most illustrious representative, the American people, has been the *Leitmotif* of the editor in compiling this "Sefer Zikkaron," this "Memorbuch" of Kishinef.

Murawief, de Plehve, and Pobiedonostsef, with or without the consent of their imperial master, have the power to arrange behind the closed doors of the court of Kishinef a shameful judicial comedy forbidding the presiding judges, the prosecuting attorney, and the at-

torneys of the victims to throw the slightest light upon the crimes perpetrated—yes, to mention the very names of the vile and cowardly murderers who had not courage to face in the open the widows and orphans whose husbands and fathers they have assassinated in the dead of night. But none of the statesmen of the Russian Autocrat is strong enough to prevent the reopening of the case at the bar of the Supreme Court of the modern world—Public Opinion.

Satisfied with the modest rôle of Recorder, I have limited myself to the presentation of the bare facts and what might be called the documents in the case. In Chapter I. is presented the masterly account of the massacres as related by Herr Told. In Chapter III. is reproduced the official annual report of the Executive Committee of the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith. In the closing chapter (VII.) is given a résumé of the trial of Kishinef, which Dr. Armand Kaminka, Secretary of the "Israelitische Allianz zu Wien," had the kindness to compile for the present work on the very spot. The witnesses I have called to the witness-stand (Chapters II., V., and VI.) are men of the highest standing in public life, science, and literature, and, with the exception of three, all Gentiles belonging to the Greek Orthodox, to the Roman Catholic, and to the various denominations of the Protestant Church. The remaining chapter (IV.), from the practical point of view the most interesting section of the entire book, presents, with the events of Kishinef and the sympathetic intervention of the government and people of America as historic background, two different solutions of the Judeo-Russian problem—the one offered by Arnold White, the semi-official spokes-

man of the government of the Czar, the other by Jacob H. Schiff, the authoritative representative of the Jews of America.

After having thus briefly summed up the purpose and contents of the present work, I wish to offer the reader a private document of the highest interest, which, in view of its source and genuineness, represents a precious testimonial of the lofty patriotism of the Russian Jew, throwing at the same time a curious flash-light upon his tragic fate.

While collecting my material in the early summer of last year, I placed myself, among others, in communication with Colonel John B. Weber and Dr. Walter Kempster, the two chief members of the commission which was sent, in 1891, by Congress to Russia and other European countries for the investigation of the immigration question. Both of these noble and fearless advocates of the persecuted Russian pariah immediately placed their information and collaboration at my disposal. Colonel Weber's *plaidoyer* has been embodied in the book itself. The letter of his colleague and friend, Dr. Walter Kempster, may here find its proper place.

#### Letter of Dr. Kempster

MILWAUKEE, Wis., *July 4, 1903.*

I am very glad to learn that you are to prepare a book upon a subject now agitating the people not only of the United States, but of the civilized world ; and if what I have written heretofore may be of any value in the work you have undertaken, I shall be gratified.

It is not generally known that when our report was written it was first submitted to President Harrison before being printed, and at his request it was modified,

because, as he said, the people might be disinclined to believe the statements therein contained, which were, however, true to the letter, and were not in any particular overdrawn in any respect. I have long since felt that it is almost impossible to make the people of the United States understand the real situation in Russia. Matters are so incongruous, so unlike anything that the people of this country are familiar with, that there is no standard of comparison which will enable them to judge of the conditions to be found by any one interested in the search.

I have had considerable experience in making investigations in eleemosynary institutions in various parts of the United States—indeed, I may say, in various parts of the world—and the statement made [in your letter] that there are few if any Jewish dependents confined in institutions maintained at public expense is well borne out. I do not now recall more than two cases out of the many thousands inspected, and these were located in frontier towns so remote from Jewish organizations of any kind that there were none of their own people to look after them. Having been associated more than thirty years of my life with institutions in part or in whole maintained at public expense, I think I may say I have had a fair opportunity for observation, and the extreme scarcity of Jewish dependents in such institutions has always attracted my attention.

During the continuance of our Russian investigations, one circumstance appeared which was most pathetic. In every locality visited, even where the pressure of Russian officialism was felt most keenly, there was among the Jewish people a sentiment of loyalty which was amazing. Stripped of their goods, banished from the country of their birth, exposed to hardships which few emigrants know, enduring privations sufficient to quell the stoutest hearts, almost without exception they mourned, and mourned genuinely, at the thought that they were to be exiled from Russia. Notwithstanding

the persecutions to which they are subjected, the poverty to which they are reduced, the wretchedness which surrounds their lives, they nevertheless cling to the hope that they may be permitted to reside within the realm and among the people who have for generations so cruelly maltreated them. And I know from conversation and observation among those whom I have met in this country since their expulsion, that to-day many of them, altho they have been fairly prosperous since they came here, long to return to their country of oppression, sorrows, and horror ; they still bewail their lot, and continually moan that they are not permitted to return to the Czar's country. When spoken to concerning assistance to relieve those who are in bondage, they hold back their means, expressing the hope that the time is at hand when relief will be sent to them, and they will be recognized as citizens in a land to which they were originally invited. To me this state of mind was one of the most touching experiences we had, and, altho incomprehensible in itself, it speaks volumes for the loyalty of the people to the land of their birth. And it must not be believed that this strange patriotic feeling is found alone among the poorer classes. I was amazed to find it also among those that are educated and have standing in the professions.

Particularly do I recall two gentlemen, attorneys who lived in St. Petersburg, both of whom had "the right to reside there" by all the canons of Russia's peculiar code ; and yet these two gentlemen were in hourly anticipation of the dreaded summons to leave the country, and this idea seemed to be to them one of the most dreadful things that could occur. I assured them both that men of their talents would very speedily find recognition in this country, and that they would do vastly better here than there, financially and in any other way, but my words were all to no purpose. The very thought of leaving that wretched country seemed to fill them with sickening dread, and this same sentiment permeates the

rank and file of the Jewish population in Russia so far as my observation went.

If one reads side by side with this curious contribution to the psychology of the Russian Jew the historic documents in Chapter V., in which the most eminent Russian statesmen, Church dignitaries, and economists, from Catherine II. down to the present year,\* plead for full emancipation for the Jew in Russia, not only for the sake of humanity, but for politico-economical reasons, the obstinacy with which the Russian government keeps in slavery and is systematically starving to death 4,000,000 of its loyal subjects must needs appear an insoluble puzzle to all who are not acquainted with the fundamental principles of the politico-religious development of the Russian state and nation. But even if we admit, for argument's sake, the standpoint of the Russian autocracy in its dealings with the unfortunate dwellers of the vast Ghetto which stretches from Libau on the Baltic to Odessa on the Black Sea (who for racial and religious reasons that are stronger than even the Cossack's knout, naturally resist the intended conversion of themselves into Greek Orthodox moujiks and kulaks), is the present situation within the Pale, as revealed on more than one page of the present work by impartial and competent observers, anything but an undisguised avowal of political, economical, and moral bankruptcy on the part of the Czar?

The recital of the prayers for the rest of the souls of the dead of Kishinef will be echoed with the roar of the guns of Russia's and Japan's fleets and armies in the

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\* See August Scholz : *Die Juden in Russland*. Berlin, 1900.



Far East. The poor Russian soldiers and sailors sleeping their eternal sleep in the cold earth of Korea and on the bottom of the Yellow Sea, like the Bessarabian Jews who had been butchered to the sounds of last year's Easter bells, are victims of the same national and religious policy which, let us hope, sooner or later will dismember the proud empire of the Czar, and bring to naught the dream of Peter the Great and his successors to plant the Russian eagle and the Greek cross from the Bosphorus to the heart of the Chinese Empire.

THE EDITOR.

NEW YORK, *March*, 1904.



## INTRODUCTORY

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### THE FUTURE OF THE RUSSIAN JEW IN AMERICA

By EMIL G. HIRSCH

The study of the future of the Russian Jew in the United States is of vital importance, because upon his success and failure depends the very fate of Judaism itself in this land. Numerically even now the dominant factor in American Jewry, the Russian Jew will at no remote day also assert his leadership in all movements expressive of the genius of his race and religion. It is the Russian Jew who will mold the character of the synagogue and its ambitions in the Western world. In measure as he will rise socially, intellectually, morally, and spiritually, will the standing of Judaism and the influence of the Jew be accorded distinction and recognition. Should he deteriorate in character and capacity, he will drag down with himself every one of his faith and blood. These propositions admit of no dispute. They require no further evidence than the testimony of statistics. The German Jew, who only a few decades ago fancied that it lay with him to determine the development of Judaism in this land, was entitled to cherish this conceit by the logic of events that had forced to the rear the Sephardic coreligionist of his. But to-day it is he that is in the hopeless minority. As

yet he refuses to accept the decree which will relegate him to the second rank, for he affects superiority in wealth, culture, education, and liberalism over his Russian brother of later arrival. Yet even in these respects the Russian Jew is fast crowding him.

The equation between poverty and Russian Jewry is by no means absolute. Among the immigrants of a decade ago and their children there are not a few who have followed the example of their German predecessors of sixty years ago. By dint of energy, industry, and economy, a goodly number have amassed fair competencies and even more. They are developing now into a factor in the commercial world by no means inconsequential. Nor are they much behind their non-Russian kinsmen in eagerness for secular education and the graces it must bring in its wake. Indeed, it may safely be said that the passion for intellectual treasures is much deeper among the recent refugees from the horrors of the Russian Pale than it has been—certainly within recent years—among the German Jews. The reasons for this are patent. Intellectual pursuits, even tho of a very narrow range, have been the solace of the persecuted son of Israel throughout the ages. With the larger world barred against him, he has constructed a world of his own, and his religion has shown him the way how to order it with comfort and content. The sacred Law was indeed his main preoccupation. To discover its profounder implications as unfolded by the masters of former generations was not only a religious obligation, but it constituted the absorbing intellectual ambition of the children of the Ghetto. This concentration of aim sharpened the powers of reasoning to a remarkable keenness. The

subtle penetration of analysis and induction which Talmudical studies can not but develop is the intellectual patrimony of the Russian Jew in particular, because upon him has been laid much more heavily and longer the hand of the persecutor. Given new fields to which to apply this inherited resourcefulness of the mind, the Russian Jew could not but attack and overcome, with astonishing ease, obstacles that would have halted another at the outset. Enrolled among the pupils of our free schools, his children, tho in a strange land, have found it no difficult task to push forward toward the highest intellectual attainments.

It is not true that commercial activity is the sole magnet that will attract these sons of Jacob. The reverse comes nearer the actual conditions. Commercialism, originally forced upon the Jew, is even at this day not his first love. If there be but the slightest chance to escape the counting-room, the young ambitious Jew of Russian antecedents will avail himself of it. He has rushed into the professions of medicine, jurisprudence, engineering—even branches that do not promise immediate or rich rewards, such as philology and archeology—to a greater extent than any other component race of our heterogeneous population. It is the Jews of Russian ancestry who are making name and fame for themselves and their race in chosen specialties. The German Jew's pretence that he is exponential of the intellectualism of the Jew is refuted every day by the realities of the situation.

It is a foregone conclusion that with the conquest of broader fields the intellectualism of the Russian Jew will open the door to the genial messengers of the refinements

which attend on knowledge and science and literature, and which even now, wherever environment permits of their approach, are crossing the threshold of his habitations. This prediction will undoubtedly be received with skepticism by many, but these fail to remember that the Russian Jew as yet, on the whole, makes his home in congested quarters of the large cities. Lacking space, he can not so order his domestic life as to provide the necessary openness indispensable to the development of the finer and more delicate graces of culture. But one who will take the trouble to consult the statistics of our libraries, or, if it were possible, the records of the visitors to art galleries, will discover that among these people, hampered for elbow-room, the hunger for things lofty and beautiful is intense. Music has always had an appeal for the wandering sons of Israel in every clime. Perhaps this natural predisposition to lend expression by song to the soul's undefined longings has, in the case of the Russian Israelite, been deepened by the influence of his Slavonic surroundings. Be the cause whatever it may, musical talent is wonderfully frequent among the dwellers of the Jewish tenement districts. This accounts also for the popularity among them of the concert halls. Indeed, they misread the signs who conceive Russian Jewry as an inert mass of unlifted mental and spiritual misery or even of physical wretchedness. The promise of the best things is rich among them. It depends upon them and their leaders, as well as upon the wise foresight and instructed caution of others, whether this abundant store of power and ambition be utilized to their uplifting or their undoing. And, let it be repeated, their undoing would irrevocably signify the undoing of the Jew

and Judaism in this land of ours, and, some of us are bold enough to insist, also on this globe of ours.

In order to have this stupendous energy of intellectualism and its concomitants directed into the channel of greatest possibility for good, it is essential that the dangers lurking in the present conditions be not minimized. A few of these are readily seen on the very surface. Congestion within very much restricted quarters is a result of the intensely urban character of the religion of the orthodox Jew. The institutionalism of the orthodox synagogue is such that it presupposes the existence of the congregational machinery. The provision that community of religious belief should control individual religious conduct extends to the most intimate details of private life, and without this provision the Jewish conscience of the orthodox Jew is exposed to severe strains. Thus his religion has predisposed the Jew to congregate in urban centers. Persecution has reinforced this religious bias. In numbers there may not sometimes be safety, but there is always consolation and encouragement. The Talmudical Rip Van Winkle is credited with the exclamation: "Give me company or give me death!" This feeling is intensely human, but among no set of men is it more vital than among such as suffer from the injustice of the world or the maladjustment of social conditions. Suffering loves company. The Russian Jew has been a sufferer and martyr for weary stretches of time. Small the wonder that the gregarious instinct is strongly dominant in his soul.

The manner of his advent among us must be held to be a third element in the creation of the cramped social conditions to which he is exposed. Since the days of

Alexander III. the Russian Jew has had to seek refuge in our country, not so much in obedience to his own private desire for a change as under compulsion. Arriving one of a large number, the immediate problem that confronted the individual Jew was how to earn enough to keep body and soul together. At home—if the Russian Pale can be dignified by this sacred appellation—he had been barred from all occupations that might have made his transition to American life easier. The only opening that he found ready for him, and an opening that his coming widened more largely than it is pleasant to remember, was the chance to master the simple craft required in the highly specialized processes devised for the manufacture of garments. This meant for him the embrace of the sole species of house industries that the factory system of production had allowed to survive. The sweat-shop claimed him under the alternative of starvation. Yes, this sweat-shop offered a field for the display of his ancestral virtues! Not restricted to rules regulating the time of work, it enabled the emigrant, after a brief interval of apprenticeship, to put in as many hours as his necessities required or suggested, while every member of his family could be rendered helpful in the task of winning bread for all. The noble generosity of his coreligionists, confronted by the terrible problem how to help these victims of Russian atrocities, made the road to the sweat-shop all the easier for the Russian immigrant. The implements were not beyond the means of organized benevolence. Sewing-machines could be furnished at a comparatively small original investment, and the handling thereof was a secret soon mastered. All these circumstances cooperated to locate



the new arrival in those sections of our great cities where rents were cheap—not relatively, but absolutely—and where the conditions were offered to intensify the effectiveness, industrially speaking, of the monster system of specialized productivity. Naturally, where the first-comers had found a foothold, their successors in later years of tidal immigration also sought and found their habitations. It is thus that religion, the natural desire for fellowship and society which misery always engenders, and the social necessities conspired to create large Russian Jewish settlements in congested districts. This feature of the situation is one of the elements of danger which the well-wisher of the Russian Jew and of Judaism at large in this country must not ignore.

In the first place, this segregation tends to the preservation of non-American customs and conceits. The Russian proverb, "Russia is large and the Czar is far away," expresses a truth applicable to social atmosphere everywhere. It is not the larger environment that modifies our ideas or influences our conduct. The nearer entourage always is the determinant. The conservation of the valuable predispositions which are brought to these shores by European immigrants is certainly to be encouraged, for it promises enrichment of the fibers of our own American character. But even these virtues and potentialities for strength should be expressed in American molds. Foreign idioms, be they those of the tongue or of the manners, are entitled only to tolerance as private peculiarities so long as they do not interfere with the ability or hinder the predisposition to participate in the development of the wider national life. That there are peculiarities and predilections in the speech and man-

ners of our Russian brothers which call for consistent efforts at reformation, and to combat which a wider access to broader American life is desirable, few will have the hardihood to dispute. If the Russian Jew is to become a factor for effective good in the American nation—and he has, in an eminent degree, all the mental and moral qualification for this high vocation and opportunity—it is essential that there be an enlargement of his own narrow stage, on which even the Jargon plays too vital a rôle.

But congregation and segregation, it is needless to say, almost automatically make for the exclusion of the wider attractions. Even in speech and standard of living the Jew must not remain a foreigner in this republic. It was a great leader of liberal thought in the West who framed the profoundly true sentence: "The Pale in Russia is a shame for which Russian Christianity ought to blush; but a self-chosen and artificially created Ghetto in this land is a shame for which the Jew ought to blush." While we are in the state of transition, allowances must, perhaps, be made for the existence of tendencies of the nature censured in this liberal leader's epigram. But with him all friends of the Jew and the Jew himself must recognize that what, at its best, may claim the exemption due to a temporary makeshift shall not be encouraged as a desirable accomplishment for all time to come. The plea that the Jargon, for instance, is intimately interwoven with the religious temper of this people is altogether too ridiculous to be entertained by reasonable minds. Nor shall shallow sentimentalism interfere with the effort to overcome the difficulties in the way of linguistic adjustment to American circumstances.

There has been an excess of enthusiastic admiration for the Jargon as a vehicle of thought and feeling. What its reserve stores of power and its endowments of beauty may be most of us have failed to discover. Admitted that, in the past days of persecution, it has lent itself to the tears of the Ghetto as no other tongue could have done, it should not be aureoled in sanctity, and its dominion should be allowed to become less autocratic with the sweep of the onward-moving days. Artificially to economize it as the medium of intercourse between Jews of Russian antecedents in America for all time to come will entail a waste of energy which, in addition to the folly of the intention, will have to answer for a futile but by no means harmless endeavor to mark the Jews of future generations as foreigners.

Trust to the influence of the public school for bringing about the change which is imperative in this field would be pardonable optimism were the conditions not such as they are. The very congestion which has given a new power of life to the Jargon also militates against the potency of the public school. Even in the school-room the children of the district are brought into contact only with children of the district. The Jargon thus intrudes into the sacred precincts of the public school. Tho English is taught, the danger is always great that the foreign intonation and twist will not be overcome. This means a pronounced handicap for the pupils. In later life the evil effects will become apparent. Observation has confirmed the diagnosis that nothing in this land has contributed so forcibly to the spread of anti-Semitic prejudice as the inability on the part of the first immigrants of Jewish faith to overcome their German

dialect. The Jargon is another and still more deadly source of prejudices. While the task is a tremendous one, we must undertake to curtail the pernicious domination of this arrested German seasoned with all sorts of linguistic condiments. At all events, those sentimental and not always unselfish efforts to give the idiom standing as a literary dialect should be opposed. The well-wisher of the Russian Jew can not but deplore the indifference to this duty which prevails. *The Russian Jew must become American.* And the official language of America is English. They who aspire to influence in public life must be able to handle this tongue in a way that their words be given a ready hearing. Outlandishness in dress and manner is always an invitation to ridicule, and the distance from good-humored laughter to ill-tempered jeer is not very great. *Videant Consules!*

But, again, linguistic segregation enhances the peril of political crystalization. By this term we would designate the foolish, or the stupid, or the evil-minded endeavors to make the Russian Jews as such and *en masse* a distinct element in the politics of our municipalities and the states. Professional Russian Jewish foreignism for political ends is of all evils to be dreaded by the American Jew the most dangerous. The peculiar atmosphere of our American politics engenders easily this curious phenomenon of "hyphenated Americans"—distinct bodies of citizens brought together and held together, not by the magic of a vital principle, but under the obsession of a foreign prejudice. And of all varieties of this wonderful genus, that would be the most damnable in which Judaism, divorced from its genuine implications, is joined to sordid political intrigue. *The Rus-*

*sian Hebrew-American as a factor in the political equation is of all pretenders the least tolerable. There must not be a distinct Jewish vote.* The day when it clamors for recognition because it is distinctly Jewish will be a day of incalculable evils for every Jew in this land. Segregation is the opportunity of the designing politician whatever his race or religion.

Even now there are many symptoms that indicate that the evil has begun to work in our specifically Jewish centers. Ambitious and not overscrupulous men—would-be political leaders—have succeeded in making others of ilk believe that it is an easy matter to control the assumed “Jewish vote.” These, who thus presume to own the Jewish vote and deliver it, are the worst enemies that the Jew and Judaism have in this country. Nothing is so vital to the future development and position of the Russian Jew in America as the understanding on his part that here he shall vote as an American citizen, that the injection of Judaism into politics in the manner in which foreign European interests or prejudices have been twisted as means for the attainment of selfish ends at public expense is bound to react with damaging effect upon the Jew. He must be on his guard against all demagogues, whether of his own blood or not, that appeal to his segregated Jewish prejudices for political purpose. Nothing will arouse anti-Semitism so virulently as pseudo-Jewish political parasitism.

In this connection it may be well to speak of the dangers with which Zionism is fraught in its possible effect upon the future of the Russian Jew in this country. Certainly it were unnatural for the refugee from the house of bondage (Russia) to withhold his sympathy

from any movement tending to ameliorate the lot of his nearest of kin. It is to the credit of the Russian Jew that the Zionistic program has aroused his enthusiasm. He should be the last to deny his help in treasure, thought, and exertion to this international and, therefore, national Jewish protest against the brutality of the world, this idealistic vision, this, perhaps, impracticable hope soon to compel the nations to provide for the Jews now under the ban "a legally assured home." But the experience of Irish nationalistic societies in this country points a lesson that should not be overlooked. Let the Zionists have a care not to be utilized by designing men for selfish ends. Zionist lodges create the presumption in the mind of American politicians that their leaders command political influence with their members. The appearance even of anything bordering on such a possibility must be eliminated. Zionism and American politics must be rigidly kept distinct; unless this be done, harm will result from the agitation, and the Jew in America will have every reason to regret the day when Zionism found its vocabulary.

From the point of view of an American Jew, Zionism also recommends itself as holding the promise of solving our own perplexities. Under normal conditions, the evils of segregation would cure themselves. In measure as the recent immigrants, by dint of thrift, reach the higher planes of success, they will of their own accord strive to find homes under less-restricted environments. This movement out of the Ghetto is clearly discernible even now in our larger cities. With the stream of refugees from darkest Europe diverted elsewhere, it will only be a question of a few years when the evils of segregation will

have righted themselves. But it is too much to hope that this will ensue within the near future. What, then, under prevailing conditions, is the nearest duty? The overcrowding of the distinct Jewish settlements in our larger cities must be counteracted. This necessary work can not be carried to the desired accomplishment exclusively from this side of the Atlantic. Before immigrants set foot on our shores they should be induced to seek homes farther West. In many a small town in the newer states opportunities are open which are not to be found in the older centers nearer the sea border. Concerted action on the part of all the various agencies now organized to meet the exigencies of the situation is imperative. And in this effort the cooperation of the Russian Jews themselves must be enlisted. This has been one source of weakness: that up to very recent date no attempt was made to secure the active collaboration of the Russian Jews themselves in enterprises of a benevolent or philanthropic character, devised for the benefit primarily of their own countrymen. Hereafter the line of cleavage between German and Russian Jews must be ignored. The policy of division, looking to passive acceptance on the part of the Russians and of active bestowal on that of the German Jews, has wrought injury to both alike. It has engendered, on the one side, distrust; on the other, self-righteousness. A patronizing attitude has too often characterized the one, while hostile opposition has marked the other. The result has been detrimental to the best interests of both. *The interests of the German Jew in this land are identical with those of the Russian.* Nothing can affect, for good or evil, one without also reacting upon the other. And in no field are such senseless lines of sepa-

ration more pernicious than in the domain of philanthropy. In order to overcome the evils of congestion, the Russian Jew's cooperation is indispensable.

That not all, but many, of their class may be induced to take up farming is now beyond controversy. Colonies on a large scale may have failed, but where the attempt has been honestly and thoughtfully made to help individual families to work out their destiny on a government claim under the homestead act, the results have been most gratifying. A study of the records of the Agricultural Aid Society in Chicago bear out every one of the foregoing statements. There is not one accessible panacea for every evil. Patience, hope, cooperation, good will, and mutual trust are needed, and many methods of different devise may lead to good and desirable changes. The Russian Jews may, after all, learn, and they are learning 'it now, that self-help is always more effective than aid from others. Their future is in their hands. To them looks America, and the numerically much smaller German Jewish community in America, to show themselves worthy of the trust placed in them when, in their terrible plight, the ports of this land were opened, and the sympathy of all right-minded Americans extended to them without stint. They have not proved that the policy of America has been a mistake. Quite to the contrary, the Russian Jew, barring exceptional cases, which to understand was to pardon, has done his share to prepare himself for the privileges of American citizenship. His children certainly will do honor to the country that welcomed their parents, if not to a life of ease, at least to a life of honorable toil and opportunities.

A word about the future religious development of the



Russian Jew. If the precedent of the German Jew counts for anything in making up this prognosis, it is easy to trace the course of this development. Rigid orthodoxy will not prevail. This is even now plain. The danger at the present moment is that, with the abandonment of the older forms, that for which these stand will also be forgotten. Nihilism, under the intoxication of the newly acquired freedom, is the peril now imminent. Rationalism, under the obsession of a half-digested system of naturalistic philosophy, seems to be the besetting sin of many of the younger men and women. But after this period of fermentation, another of positive reconstruction and crystalization is bound to ensue. Perhaps the movement away from the synagog, which is clearly marked in the younger generation, is due to the fact that as yet men have not arisen among them who join enough of Talmudic lore to full possession of scientific information and philosophical culture, and thus, while commanding the respect of the elder generation, have a message for the younger. That these men shall arise is of vital importance [to the Jew who would see Judaism as a religion and not merely as a race, and who desires that something sublimer and more universal than Zionistism be central in the love and dominant in the ambitions of the Jew of the future. *The Russian Jew of to-day will be the American Jew of to-morrow. The synagog's fate is in his hands.*

A golden promise illumines the Eastern horizon. We have no doubt that the new day about to break will show the Russian American Jew as a man of power, with mind well stocked and judgment well trained, with sympathies well refined for all that is good, true, and noble,

with loyalty most intense for the best that America calls its own; a citizen well worthy of the prerogative of the sovereignty which American citizenship confers; a Jew deeply conscious of the beauty, the reasonableness of his faith, the historic duty that birth from Jewish parents imposes. Tho perhaps in his religious symbols he will display somewhat of a romantic spirit, and tho when he bethinks himself of Zion his heart will throb with profounder emotions, his proclamation will withal ring with the eternal verities to which the Prophets were the first to lend word, and in behalf of which Israel, as the martyr witness, had often to forfeit ease and give up life itself. The Russian Jew—then the American Jew—will not refute the prediction which the earlier German Reformers treasured, that, after all, in America, Judaism will experience a Renaissance full of promise for all humanity.

## **"ELI, ELI, LAMA SABACHTHANI?"**

*(St. Matthew xxvii, 46)*

BY ISRAEL DAVIDSON

From the Kishinef crater, in volcanic Russia,  
A blast of hell-fire leaped to the earth,  
That scorched the land of the Czar,  
And razed the image of God from the face of  
the Slav,  
And unveiled the Tartar savage of yore,  
A brother to the beast.  
But out-bruting the beast that hides in the  
jungles,  
The man-beast crouched on the highway of life,  
And plunged his ironlike claws in the heart of  
his victim,  
And laid him bleeding in the glare of the mid-  
day sun.  
And out-wiling the savage herds, that thronged  
the forests,  
That knew not God, nor heeded creed or law,  
The Tartar savage drank the blood of his kin,  
And ate the heart of his fellow, and then,  
With hands uplifted heavenward called on Christ.

And down from the cross the meek-hearted Jew,  
Who offered his life on the altar of love,  
Looked with infinite agony upon the crowd,  
That worshiped his name but defied his word;  
The sorrow of centuries sat on his brow,  
The torture of ages furrowed his face,  
And from his heart the blood, so long con-  
gealed,  
Began to ooze once more, and drop by drop  
It fell in the sea of Israel's blood,  
Until its waves began to swell,  
And mighty billows rose,  
And the earth was flooded with blood.  
But out of the depth, behold,  
The bleeding, ever wandering Jew,  
Christlike on a flaming cross appeared.  
O'er his head a halo of suffering,  
On his brow a crown of torture hung;  
And deep from his heart the cry  
That once the death of Heathendom sounded,  
Now in deep sonorous, solemn foreboding,  
Through the world of Christ resounded,  
"ELI, ELI, LAMA SABACHTHANI?"

# **Russia at the Bar of the American People**

## **I**

### **AN AUTHENTIC ACCOUNT OF THE KISHINEF MASSACRES**

#### **I.—Jews and non-Jews in Bessarabia**

AMONG the 150,000 inhabitants of Kishinef there are about 40,000 Jews. The non-Jewish population of the city consists of Moldavians and Russians. Kishinef is the capital of the government of Bessarabia, which borders on Rumania. It belongs to the Pale—*i.e.*, the Jewish Sphere of Settlement.

The Jews of Kishinef were, on the whole, somewhat better off than the rest of their coreligionists in the other parts of the country, because Kishinef is the rich center of one of the most fertile districts of Russia.

The comfortable situation of the peasants in Bessarabia has exercised a favorable influence on the Jewish inhabitants, altho in the two exceptional years of famine it was chiefly the Jews who hungered and starved, and contributions had to be collected for them throughout Russia among their coreligionists. But in spite of

this fact—*i.e.*, that in comparison with the misery of their people in the rest of Russia the Jews in Bessarabia were prosperous—the peasants never complained of their unfairness in business matters. The relations between Jews and Christians were tolerable, and stood even the severe test of the years of persecution, 1881–1883. When at that time the whole of Southern Russia was the scene of outrages against the Jews, an attempt was also made to arouse the people of Bessarabia to strike them, but the attempt remained ineffectual. The Moldavians said at the time: “If the Czar wills that the Jews be slain, he has his army. We, however, will not strike the Jews.” Only a few of the peasants were in favor of violence. But when one of them attacked a Jewish butcher in Kishinef, he was struck to the ground by the brawny ox-slayer, and that settled the matter. Nothing is more characteristic of the relation existing at that time between Jews and Christians than the fact that they founded common benevolent societies, and that Jews were members of the Board of Aldermen.

Within the last twenty years there have been no economic changes whatever which could have called forth an especial animosity against the Jews. The soil has nowhere come into Jewish hands—indeed, the Jews have no right to buy land. In commerce and industry there is almost no competition between the races, because these pursuits are almost wholly in the hands of the Jews. There are, to be sure, several large Christian wholesale houses, but these can only profit by the Jewish retail dealers. The number of Jewish capitalists is exceedingly small, consisting of only a few large leaseholders and some merchants. The only competition

which could possibly exist would be between Jews and Greeks, which latter race handles the trade in wine and tobacco. But even this competition has no importance.

It may be said in general that the Jews in Bessarabia still form an almost indispensable factor of economic existence. The Moldavian peasant is neither advanced nor capable and diligent enough to sell the products of his labor independently. He needs the Jew, whose activity and unpretentiousness he uses to his own advantage. It was, perhaps, for this very reason that such a tolerable relation grew up between the two classes. How much the peasants of Bessarabia valued the Jews, and how far they were from thinking that the Jews took advantage of them, is shown by the fact that, at the time when the government drove the Jews out of the villages, the peasants of Bessarabia petitioned to have the Jews given back to them. The following noteworthy motive was given for the petition: "The Jewish merchant or commercial agent is a thousand times preferable to the Christian, the Jew being satisfied with a much smaller gain than the Christian."

## II.—Kruschewan and the "Bessarabetz"

One single man succeeded in making a break in these tolerable, and, for Russian conditions, even exceptionally favorable relations between Jews and Christians. To him mainly are due the horrors of the April days of 1903.

Six years ago a journalist by the name of Kruschewan started a newspaper in Kishinef called *Bessarabetz*. After the very first year Kruschewan brought up the

Jewish question. He began with attacks upon the Jews, which became more and more violent, until they reached the most sanguinary fanaticism and madness. He found powerful support for his undertaking among the official classes. The Vice-Governor of Kishinef, Ustrugow, who officiated as press censor, was one of the collaborators of the newspaper. So, too, was the examining magistrate, Dawidowitsch, who wrote the most seditious articles for the same sheet. Several Christian physicians, who regarded the competition of their Jewish colleagues with disfavor, likewise worked for the paper. It is an interesting fact that, altho the *Bessarabetz* had very few subscribers, it never lacked for money. The explanation is very simple: the paper was supported by the government, which published in it all official announcements. Such a paper, patronized by the highest local magistrates and the leaders of society, and subsidized by the government, soon came in the eyes of the inhabitants to be no longer an expression of the opinions of the fanatic journalist, Kruschewan, but was regarded as the official organ of the government. Twice was the attempt made to establish a respectable paper in Kishinef. Both times the requests to that effect were refused by the central government, upon the pretext that Mr. Kruschewan's organ completely satisfied the official needs.

The paper was circulated even more among the higher and lower classes of the Russian population than among the Moldavians. It found especially eager readers among the "Starowjerzi," a fanatically inclined Russian sect. During five years in almost every issue of the *Bessarabetz* the Jews were represented as blood-suckers, deceivers, parasites, and robbers of the Christian popu-



lation, and a pitiless war of extermination was preached against them.

An event of great importance in its results was the establishment of a Christian benevolent society called "Bessarabetz," from which the Jews were rigorously excluded, and where the Kruschewan party was the ruling element. In this society discussions were held on the Jewish question, and there is no doubt whatever that the preparations for the massacre of April, 1903, emanated from this society which had a great deal of money contributed from many places, even from Rumania; there were also considerable contributions concerning the expenditure of which no account was required.

### III.—The Accusation of Ritual Murder

The ground was thus sufficiently undermined when Kruschewan began to incite the population openly against the Jews, accusing them of murder for ritualistic purposes. In 1902, before the Easter holidays, a young Christian was found dead in a well. Kruschewan immediately began a wild campaign against the Jews, whom he accused of having killed the Christian for ritualistic ends. It was established before long that a Christian had committed the murder, and had thrown the body into the well to conceal his crime.

In the beginning of 1903 Kruschewan renewed his anti-Jewish campaign in the most unheard-of manner, preaching openly the slaughter of the Jews. In Dubossary a young man was murdered, his body being thrown into a garden, and the report at once was disseminated that the Jews had killed a young Christian for ritualistic

purposes. Kruschewan published a series of articles, in which he directly charged the Jews with the murder. These accusations were read everywhere, in all inns and taverns, on all public squares. If any one doubted the truth of the terrible charges, he was easily convinced by the observation that if the story were not true the government would not permit such a thing to be printed. The governmental authorities did not restrain Kruschewan's work, and were in no haste to clear up the Dubossary murder. When finally it was officially ascertained that the latter had been committed by a Christian for covetous reasons, when even the *Bessarabetz* was obliged to publish an official announcement to that effect, it was too late. The announcement produced rather the opposite effect. Kruschewan was allowed to make the statement in so twisted a fashion that the suspicion that the guilty Jews were to be shielded was only strengthened, and the fanatical rage against them was only increased.

Soon after the murder at Dubossary, persons lusting after ritualistic murder tales discovered a "mysterious" case in Kishinef itself.

A Christian girl, in service at the house of a Jewish merchant, had taken poison. In the night the merchant heard the maid moaning. He at once hastened to call a physician, who found that the girl was in serious danger, and had her at once carried to the nearest hospital, which happened to be a Jewish one. The physician at once reported the case to the authorities. The maid testified to the court official who came to the hospital that she had poisoned herself, and that her master was not in the remotest degree guilty. The maid died in the Jewish hospital. Soon reports of a ritual murder were flying

through the city. The syringe with which the physician had injected morphine into the dying girl became a "ritualistic instrument." When the girl was buried a large crowd gathered at the cemetery. A government official made a funeral address, in which he observed that Christian girls died remarkably often before the Jewish Easter festival. The remark was repeated in all circles. It came to light that the fable of Jewish ritualistic murder had firm believers, not only among the uneducated classes of the people, but also in intellectual circles and among the highest officials. *The governmental rabbi of Kishinef went to the bishop, and asked him to tell the people that the charge of ritualistic murder was a lying invention; but the bishop refused the request.*

*A priest preached a sermon in a church, in which he stated that the accusation of ritualistic murder was unfounded. Thereupon he received an order from his superior, forbidding him in the future to make such speeches without special permission.*

As another instance showing how the population was incensed against the Jews by the very representatives of the government, the following fact may be quoted. The already mentioned Vice-Governor of Bessarabia, Ustrugow, on one occasion came to a village where the Jews had had a prayer-house for years without possessing a "legal" permission for it. Instead of shutting up the prayer-house, which would have been the extreme of legal action in case had he wished to enforce the full rigor of the law, he entered the house on the Day of Atonement, the holiest festival of the Jews, and caused the Thora roll to be torn out of the Holy Ark and dragged in the gutter. He there trampled it with

his feet, and then, having caused it to be wrapped in dirty rags, ordered peasants to carry it in such a condition to the town hall. Another time he arrived before the house of a Jewish tenant. On some pretext he caused him, with his wife and children, to be placed in a cart, and ordered them to be brought to the city by compulsory conveyance. He ordered the house and the stable, in which the live stock was, to be closed up and the doors to be sealed. He threatened the peasants with severe punishment should they dare to open the doors. The cattle died in the stalls—no one dared to feed them—and the tenant became a beggar.

#### IV.—Preparation for the Excesses

The soil was then sufficiently prepared for a terrible outbreak against the Jews. During the two weeks before the Christian Easter the organizers of the movement gathered in the hotel "Rossia." Arms were bought, and pamphlets and placards printed. One of these pamphlets, which were widely circulated among the people, began with the following sentence: "An ukas (order) of the Czar permits Christians to execute bloody justice (*Krowawaja rasprawa*) on the Jews during the three holy days of Easter." A poster showed the head of Christ with the crown of thorns, and bore the inscription "God's punishment upon the iconoclasts!" The poster had the following subscription: "Moscow in the house of the cloister of the holy Macarius, Great Lubianka Street. Printed by the committee of the confessors of the Holy Synod at Saint Petersburg, February 4, 1903. The censor—Alexander Jeremonach."

People everywhere spoke openly of the planned excesses against the Jews. It is notorious that the chief of police in Kishinef remarked at his club that in a few days people would break loose upon the Hebrews. A few days before Easter the police commissioner, Dobroselski, came into the cigar-shop belonging to the Jew Bendersky, and took five rubles out of his money-box. When Bendersky looked on astonished at this strange act, the commissioner said: "We are going to kill off all the Jews at Easter anyway." The central place of agitation was in the tavern "Moskwa." A waiter in this tavern, who had distributed thousands of handbills, stated afterward that he had been threatened in a letter with death if he did not distribute them.

At first sight it is almost impossible to understand why the Jews did not do everything possible to protect themselves in face of this unmistakably serious situation. The chief explanation is probably to be found in the fact that, having been for years, day in and day out, provoked and threatened, either they did not recognize, or they undervalued, the unusual nature, the rude barbarism, of this outbreak of hatred against them, and that, in the second place, they trusted to the protection of the police of Kishinef and of the garrison, several thousand men strong.

The governor, altho ungraciously, promised aid and the necessary protective measures, and the Jews in general were satisfied with this official promise. Only a small portion of them, about one hundred to one hundred and fifty persons, realized the gravity of the situation and armed themselves in preparation for defense.

Otherwise, the Jews were contented with having the

temple servants proclaim in the prayer-houses, on the occasion of the Jewish Passover festival, that everybody was to remain quietly at home during the Christian Easter, to keep the shops closed, and not to enter into any disputes with Christians.

The Jews went quietly and without too great anxiety to their homes.

The night between Saturday (April 18) and Sunday was dark and rainy. A policeman stood on every corner of the outer streets. He was ordered not to let strangers in large numbers come into the city. The police fulfilled their duty by permitting swarms of outsiders, especially peasants, to come into the town.

#### **V.—The First Day of the Excesses—Plundering—The First Murders**

Early Sunday morning the sun began to shine, and dried the damp earth. The Jews had still the last two days of their Passover to celebrate. So little did they suspect any evil that they put on holiday attire and went to the synagogues. Again at the close of the service the "Shamossim" (synagog servants) proclaimed that no Jew should leave his house. People went quietly home. Jews even promenaded in the streets; many stopped at the carousels, and watched how the Christians were amusing themselves.

Suddenly, toward noon, without any immediate cause, without even the slightest altercation having taken place between Jews and Christians, a band of Christian boys, from ten to fifteen years of age, began to fall upon the Jews. The Jews fled, the boys after them, without doing them much harm. The band scattered quickly into the

chief streets of Kishinef, and began to break windows in the Jewish houses and stores. Everything was at once locked up. The police proceeded to chase and frighten the lads, but arrested no one.

This procedure of the police, of course, encouraged the marauders. The young boys had doubtless been sent out by the organizers of the movement to assure themselves completely of the attitude of the police, upon whose good will they had already counted. It was about three in the afternoon when suddenly a crowd of men appeared on the square of the Nowyi Bazar, all of them wearing red shirts. (The red shirt is part of the holiday costume of the Russian workman. It is clear that the agitators chose the workman's costume intentionally.) The people shouted as if possessed. Without ceasing, they cried: "Death to the Jews! Strike the Jews!" In front of the Moskwa tavern this crowd of several hundred arranged itself into twenty-four divisions of from ten to fifteen men each. From there the destroying, plundering, and robbing of Jewish houses and stores began systematically in twenty-four parts of the city at the same time. At first stones were thrown into the houses in such numbers and with such force that not only the window-panes but the blinds also were destroyed. Then the doors and windows were torn out, and the mob crowded into the houses and Jewish apartments, hitting and breaking whatever there was to be found in the way of furniture and fittings. The Jews were obliged to deliver up to the robbers their jewelry, their money, and whatever else they had that was valuable. If they offered even the slightest resistance, they received a heavy blow over the head with a piece of

broken furniture. The scene was especially lively in the storehouses. The wares were either stolen or thrown into the street and destroyed. A large Christian following accompanied the marauders—officials, theological students, etc. Ladies of the “best society” took articles of clothing from the robbers, put on silk mantles on the spot, or wrapped themselves in costly stuffs. The robbers themselves, becoming intoxicated with drink, put on the ornaments which they had found and clothed themselves in the stolen garments. A shoe warehouse was plundered in Gostinaja Street, and all the robbers threw away their old shoes and put on new ones. The policemen who were present did the same. To them all the patent-leather boots were handed over.

The rage of the plunderers increased to madness. With a sort of wantonness they threw heavy chests and tables out of the windows upon the street, so that they fell with a terrible crash and broke into pieces. Bolsters were cut up and the feathers scattered in the air, where they whirled around like snowflakes. Even broken and destroyed objects were again broken by the fanatical robbers into a thousand pieces. Hangings and bedcovers, torn into shreds, were, in addition, sprinkled with petroleum.

*In the meanwhile bands were playing in the city garden.* With the sounds of the music were mingled the cries and shouts of the marauders, the dual noise of falling furniture and the crash of broken window-panes in the thoroughfares of the city.

In the streets in which the mob was raging the elegant



world drove by in carriages, to enjoy the spectacle of wild destruction. The Christians stood quietly at the doors of their houses. They laughingly watched the work of the *Pogromstschiki* (plunderers).

It was the deepest irony that in the editorial rooms of the *Bessarabetz* and in some buildings of the imperial administration a number of windows were broken. A revolutionary socialist, a Christian, in anger over the excesses of the plunderers, got the better of them by pointing out these houses as being Jewish.

About five in the afternoon—the first murder of a Jew occurred. The robbers attacked a tram in which there was a Jew, and called to the other passengers: “Throw the Jew out to us!” The Jew was thrown out, and received such terrible blows on the head from all sides that his skull broke and his brains ran out. The sight of the first Jewish corpse seemed to have frightened the robbers for a moment. But when *they saw that the police patrol remained unconcerned and showed no signs of interfering*, they scattered into all streets with the murderous cry: “Kill the Jews!”

Soon afterward an occurrence took place of portentous moment. *The chief of police was out making calls, and was driving in his carriage through a street in which plundering was going on. A band of robbers surrounded him and asked: “Is it permitted to kill Jews?”* THE CHIEF OF POLICE DROVE ON WITHOUT ANSWERING. His silence was a decisive event. The organizers of the movement and the leaders of the outrages had hitherto kept in the background. Now they saw, as did all Christians,

that no hindrance was to be feared on the part of the police, and that the Jews were delivered up to them without mercy. *From this moment the police, who had until now merely let everything happen, joined the marauders as active helpers.*

In the streets where houses were being plundered the Jews had to give up every attempt to protect themselves. If there were any such efforts the Jews were hindered or arrested by the police. Moreover, they were so taken by surprise by the marauders, and were so little organized, and had also reckoned so confidently on the police and soldiers, that now any individual opposition would have been impotent daring.

Only on the square of Nowyi Bazar did Jewish butchers assemble to protect themselves and theirs. They held their ground so bravely that they routed the bands of robbers, which consisted mainly of fellows who were as cowardly as they were wild. *Thereupon the police arrived during a collision and arrested the Jews!*

That was the last signal for the organizers and the band of murderers. Until 10 o'clock at night their unloosed passions found vent in plundering, stealing, and destroying. Seven other murders were added to the one already mentioned. It also transpired that on this day the robbers fell upon a beautiful Jewish woman to do violence to her. Her son, a young gymnasium student, defended her heroically. He saved the honor of his mother, altho the murderous fellows put out her eyes. Him they killed.

About 8 o'clock in the evening the train brought aid from without to the agitators. Sixty men came to take part in the excesses. They were no drunken vagabonds,

but young Russians, men of iron power, all clothed in workmen's holiday dress. On their faces was an expression as if they were there to do holy work. Their first act immediately after their arrival was to destroy a poor Jewish shop near the station. The band was armed during the night by the organizers of the movement, and it played an important part in what followed during the bloody tragedy.

The excesses were gradually transferred from the center to the outer portions of the city. Toward 10 o'clock at night the rage of the exhausted bandits subsided. It became quiet in the streets of the city. In the outer districts the plundering lasted until 11 o'clock. Then it became quiet there also.

The Jews kept watch in their houses in indescribable anxiety, and yet in the hope that now the cause for alarm was passed.

#### VI.—From Sunday to Monday

While the Jews were watching in feverish anxiety, the organizers of the outrages were at work from 11 o'clock till 3 in the morning, making every preparation for a terrible massacre of the Jews. Who were these organizers? Pissarschewsky, Semigradow, Sinodino, Bolinsky, Popow, and the examining magistrate, Dawidowitsch—all of them men in respected positions, most of them officials. Vice-Governor Ustrugow and Kruschevan kept in the dark.

Early in the morning weapons were supplied to the marauders, particularly the young men from the country who had arrived in Kishinef the evening before. These weapons were uniform: axes, iron bars, and clubs—in-

struments of a sort that could break doors and shop windows at a blow, and were even strong enough to break open iron cupboards and coffers. The costume also in which the men were clothed was the same. The workingmen's shirts already referred to were put on by a heterogeneous mob—by peasants, laborers, common citizens, officials, students, seminarists, policemen, by soldiers, and even by officers. The second systematic labor of the organization committee was the marking of Jewish houses. On the first day Pissarschewsky and Sinodino had pointed out the Jewish houses to the plunderers. The committee marked all the Jewish shops and dwellings with a white chalk-mark in the night. Next a permanent service was organized for conveying directions, reports, and general communications. For this purpose several companies of bicyclists were employed, which played an extremely important part in what followed. The bicyclists were college and theological students, and officials. But the organization committee did not restrict itself to the city alone. Messengers were sent to neighboring villages, and the peasants invited to come into the city and help plunder the Jews. They were told to bring large bags with them.

Toward 3 o'clock in the morning the preparations were complete, and at that moment the signal was given to commence.

#### VII.—The Massacre of the 20th of April

What now follows can never be described by human pen. Not only because dreadful murder has closed the mouths of those who might have been able to speak, not

only because the murderers themselves never will speak. What happened was so inhuman, so horrible, so many were the kinds of atrocities committed, so much diabolical immorality raged, that there is no language which can fitly describe even a part of the horrors and atrocities which forever have covered with shame the Russian government and its servile helpmate, the Russian Church.

From 3 o'clock Monday morning until 8 o'clock at night wild hordes raged in the midst of ruins and rubbish which they themselves had piled up; they plundered, robbed, damaged Jewish property, stole, burned, and destroyed it, and they pursued, killed, outraged, and tortured Jews. Fanaticism, cupidity, cruelty, bestial lust, and diabolical wickedness held shameful orgies in the darkness of night and in the broad light of day. And all classes were present at these orgies: governor and vice-governor, soldiers and police, officials and priests, women and children, peasants, day-laborers, and vagabonds.

All the Jewish houses in Gostinaja, Charlampjewskaja, Nikolajewskaja, and Sennaja streets were at once filled with the terrible shouts of the murderers and the heart-rending cries of the unfortunate victims. Almost everywhere the armed bands, consisting of from ten to twenty persons, altho they were sometimes enlarged to from eighty to one hundred, proceeded after the same system. As on the preceding day, the warehouses and shops were robbed to the last remnant. What could not be carried away was torn in pieces or soaked in petroleum and burned. Into the dwellings of the Jews the bandits pressed with murderous shouts, demanding that all money

and valuables be delivered over to them. If the Jews complied, the robbers at the start contented themselves with delivering severe blows to their victims and then leaving the field to their followers. If the Jews had nothing to give up, or if things did not move quickly enough, or if the murderers were otherwise disposed, the men were struck down, severely wounded, or killed. Women were outraged in succession by the murderers before the eyes of their husbands and children. Children had their little arms and legs torn out or broken, and some were carried up-stairs from the lower stories and thrown to the ground. Sometimes a man took hold of a child and beat its head against a wall until its brains ran out.

Undescribable panic reigned among the Jews ; there was a wild flight into cellars, yards, upon the roofs, from house to house, from street to street. Not a policeman, not a soldier, stirred to help them.

Early in the morning a deputation of Jews, forty in number, hastened to *the governor* to implore his protection. He *answered that he could do nothing, since he had as yet received no orders from St. Petersburg.* At the same time, however, the same *Herr von Raaben forbade the telegraph stations to accept any private telegrams whatever for St. Petersburg.* The deputation then asked at least to be allowed to remain in the governor's yard, since raging bandits were waiting for them on the public square opposite. Raaben, however, *gave orders to drive the people out of the yard* if they would not go out themselves. The company was hardly a few steps away from the governor's house when the bandits fell upon them.

*Under the very windows of the highest representative of the Czar one Jew was killed and many were wounded.*

The Jews' appeal to the governor, which was most natural in the face of their despair, marked a change for the worse in their fate. The marauders now knew that not only were they not in danger from the supreme governmental authorities, but that they were even under their patronage. It made little impression upon them to see the policemen still at their posts and the soldiers marching out from their barracks. They knew that the troops were there only to protect the Christians from any excesses. *In order to avoid any mistake, the policemen now undertook systematically to point out the Jewish houses to the robbers.*

Robbery, murder, and outrage were now continued with ever-increasing fury. Heads were cut off, and people dipped their handkerchiefs in the flowing blood and waved them as flags. The words, "Death to the Jews!" were written on white flags with Jewish blood. Jews, men and women, had their bodies cut open and entrails taken out, and the empty trunks were then stuffed with feathers. People jumped and danced on the dead bodies, shouted and became intoxicated with drink, and men and women of the so-called "best society," officials, and policemen looked on laughing at these actions, or took part in them. Women with child were beaten on the abdomen with clubs until they died from loss of blood. One such woman was cut open, and the unborn child taken out and trampled under foot.

Some Jews thought they could escape by putting pictures of Christian saints in their windows as the Christians did. They were terribly punished for so doing.

They were denounced by the police, and, after having their hands, arms, and feet bored through with large nails, they were bound and killed by persons under the leadership of theological students. In this way the death of Jesus Christ was avenged upon them.

Toward noon the madness of the bandits reached such a height that they invented the most indescribable tortures for their victims.

The following are some of the most horrible outrages which were committed in the night and by day:

Women, after having been outraged, had their breasts cut off, and were then horribly disfigured in a way not to be described.

Little girls were outraged until they died. One of these victims, nine years old, was torn in two.

In one house the mother was outraged by all the bandits in turn, in sight of her two little daughters, and the children were then outraged in sight of the mother. They were then driven into a slaughter-house, killed there by blows of a hatchet, and then hanged.

Chaja Sarah Panaschi had nails driven into her nostrils until they came out through her skull.

David Chariton had his lips cut off, and his tongue and larynx were then torn out with tongs.

Jeziel Selzer had his ears torn out, and was then beaten upon the head until he became crazy.

The brave Benzion Galanter, who stood at the door of his house with a revolver to protect his children from a marauding horde, had his eyes put out and his tongue torn out by the roots.

Meyer Weissmann, who was blind in one eye, had the



sound one put out. He pleaded earnestly to be killed, but the persecutors delighted in his agony.

A glass-maker had hidden himself in the cellar of his house with his pregnant wife and two children. A crowd pressed in. A blow with an axe cut off the man's head, while the woman's belly was cut open. The children were left alive, that they might see the bodies of their parents disfigured in an indescribable fashion.

A gymnasium student who had taken refuge in a closet was there strangled.

Hirsch Lys, who was found on the corner of Swet-schnoi and Gostinnoi streets, had his wrists and ankles wrenched out of place.

Two Jews were cut to pieces. Their mangled bodies were stuffed into closets.

One Jewess received blows on the head, her one-year-old child being used as the implement. As the child was not yet dead, the finishing touch was given by breaking glass panes with its head.

A Jewish driver was driving a severely wounded person to the hospital. When it was attempted to take the Jew out of the carriage, it was discovered that he was already dead. Half an hour later the same driver was brought to the dead-house with his skull crushed in.

One girl had her nose bitten off by a brutalized Russian while he was outraging her.

A carpenter, after having been bound to a board, had his arms and legs sawed off with his own saw.

A Jewess fled with her child to a Christian physician and begged him to protect her. The physician tried to drive her away. As she would not go, he tore the child from her arms and threw it out of the window. The

mother hurried down, and was murdered by the bandits in the street.

These are some of the inhuman outrages. They have been proved to be true by actual sight, by the testimony of Christian physicians, and by Russian papers which have first passed under the eyes of the most anti-Semitic and despotic of censors.

*The synagogs were stormed and plundered with especial fury.* In one synagog a temple servant, with death-defying courage, stood before the Holy Ark, in which the Thora rolls were kept. Dressed in the Tallith (prayer-mantle), and with the Tephillin (phylacteries) on his arms and forehead, he awaited the approach of the murderers to protect the rolls of the Law with his body. He was murdered in the most shameful manner. The Thora rolls were then torn out of the Ark, the parchment was cut into little bits (Christian children afterward sold such bits in the streets for a few kopeks as "Souvenirs of Kishinef"), or else soiled in the most disgusting manner. Not till that had been done were the fittings of the synagog destroyed.

The scenes of barbarity were so shocking that no less than thirteen Jews became insane. The son of N. Uschemirsky, who was obliged to witness the martyrdom of his father, was seized with insanity, and began to run around the city, crying out that he must telephone to the Emperor William.

Two young men, seized by insanity at the same time, ran away. One said he must go to Vienna to enter his complaint there.

One woman fled to a roof with her child. The child began to scream, and the woman stuffed a cloth into its mouth, so that it should not betray its presence to the murderers in the house. The child was suffocated, and the mother became crazy from grief. She believed that she was still holding the child in her arms.

The Jews in Asiatskaja Street hid themselves in the cellars and on the roofs while the bandits were robbing and plundering. In one house the robbers heard a noise on the roof. They hastened to go up, and found there three brothers and a thirteen-year-old girl. All were thrown from the roof upon a bridge adjoining the house. A crowd stood below, which at once began to strike at the four Jews. The next day the fearfully mutilated bodies of two of them were found under a heap of rubbish and feathers.

The policemen and soldiers played a terrible part on that day. Not only did they point out Jewish houses to the murderers and robbers, not only did they themselves plunder and steal, but they also took part in the butchery.

One woman tried to keep the marauders away from her house by pouring boiling water upon them. A policeman fell upon her and killed her.

A constable also has the murder of the above-mentioned temple servant upon his conscience. Many Jews were beaten by the police, robbed of their arms or sticks, and, if they tried to collect anywhere, were driven back into the houses.

*The policemen took part in the robbing and pillaging wherever they could.* In the house of the rich Jew Rudi the

bandits worked for ten hours, trying to break into an iron coffer. Rudi telephoned for assistance, since he did not wish to bribe the police, and drove around from magistrate to magistrate. It was of no avail. The constables stood by the bandits, without restraining them in the least. The coffer was broken open; 60,000 rubles were taken out and divided among the plunderers and the "guardians of the peace."

*A large amount of stolen material was afterward found in policemen's homes.*

In the house of one police commissioner a mass of stolen goods was discovered. He was arrested. The next day, however, he was set free. He had explained that some one had brought the things to him, and that now the man had disappeared. This explanation was held to be sufficient.

The conduct of the soldiers is almost incredible. At first they stood at their posts, which they had been ordered not to leave. The robbers accordingly handed them eatables, drinks, and valuables. The soldiers who could not uncork the wine bottles broke the necks of them off, and then emptied bottle after bottle until they became drunk.

Later it became much worse. The military, who saw how their friends were pillaging and robbing, were seized by the general frenzy and joined the marauding bands, plundering, beating, and outraging women.

The attitude of the officers was even more infamous. One officer, who was taking part in the plundering, was knocked down by an enraged Russian (one of the few humane exceptions). In one street the police fell upon defenseless Jews. An officer stood near by and

urged them on, saying: "All Jews are socialists. They must be hanged."

It is certain that officers, sometimes in disguise, took part in the robbery, and especially in the deeds of violence.

In Gostiunnaja Street an officer at the head of a patrol met several robbers loaded down with Jewish booty. He commanded them to throw away their stolen goods and plunder the nearest Jewish house, and the robbers did both.

In Charalampijewskaja Street two subofficers did violence to a Jewish girl, who was then abused and afterward murdered by bandits. An officer was found stealing by an officer of higher rank. He was arrested, but set free the following day. An army physician had testified that at the time when he was stealing he was in a state of momentary mental derangement.

The lawlessness of the soldiers—to say nothing of the police—gradually reached such a height that they openly resisted their officers, when the latter attempted to restrain them. For example, an officer gave an unruly soldier a box on the ear. In the next instant the latter gave him two in return.

#### VIII.—Resistance of the Jews—Jewish Heroism

Every impartial observer must admit that in view of the attitude of the governor, police, and soldiers, there were no great possibilities for a successful resistance on the part of the Jews. And yet the Jews of Kishinef can not be accused of succumbing to the marauders and to the police without any attempt at resistance. It is true

that in many narrow streets, where constables drove the Jews back into the houses, any united defense was absolutely impossible, and the few Jewish inmates of the houses were literally given up to bands of from twenty to one hundred men. Being wholly unprepared, in consequence of their regrettable optimism, they did what the terror of the moment suggested—hid in the cellars, on the roofs, sought refuge with Christians, on the street, in the railway station (if they were not driven back or driven somewhere else by the marauders on the way), or else they succumbed to their fate in their homes. In other streets, however, there were some combined attempts at resistance.

A company of about one hundred and fifty men, who, as has already been said, had armed themselves before the outbreak, came together on a market-place with great courage and attacked the marauders. It came to blows. But scarcely had the first Jew fired a shot when the soldiery went against the Jews, charged upon them, and took them all prisoners.

A number of older Jews, with wives and children, left their homes, abandoning all their property to the robbers, and fortified themselves in a malt factory to defend themselves and their families. The marauders, however, came in such numbers that the attempts at defense were hopeless. While the children screamed pitifully and the women fainted, the marauding bands broke in. The robbers fell first upon the women and children. Some of the outrages already described were committed there. Of the men, six were killed and many severely wounded. One boy escaped in a remarkable manner. He ran to the lake near by, and stood in the

water all night until morning. In the meanwhile his father was killed. The house has since then been called "The House of Murder."

In Kogolske Lane the Jews succeeded in defending themselves during the whole outbreak. They had collected there in good season before the police could hinder them, and resisted the attacks of the marauders. But they could not make sorties and help the others, because the police kept the adjoining streets barred. They did, however, take in many fleeing Jews, especially such as were wounded, immediately caring for their needs.

Some instances of especial Jewish heroism deserve to be remembered. The heroic deaths of the Jewish gymnasium student who saved the honor of his mother, of the temple servant who died for the honor of the Law rolls entrusted to his care, and of the valiant Benzion Galanter, who kept his stand against the bandits a full half hour with a revolver loaded with blank cartridges, have already been mentioned. [The fact should be emphasized that when the Jews did use revolvers they almost always loaded them with blank cartridges, either for fear of committing murder or for religious scruples. Hence not one Christian was killed. Some Russian anti-Semitic newspapers tried at first, in view of the horrible atrocities, to speak of an "outbreak of the wild passions of the masses," which was directed against Jews and Christians alike, and in consequence they spoke of a number of Christian victims. In all there were two non-Jews who died: one, a gypsy, who died a natural death, and the other, a lad, who was stabbed in a scuffle at the end of the outbreak.]

The heroism and moral grandeur of an old Jew remain

to be narrated. For a quarter of an hour he held four bandits at bay, who intended to do violence to his daughter. He rescued his daughter and her honor at the cost of his life. She was able to hide herself, while the old man was murdered.

The following act of a Jewish mother is also grandly heroic. In the Nikolajew Lane about twenty-five Jews had taken refuge in an attic. In the house beneath a Jew, Hirsch Bolgar, who could no longer escape, had been killed. Those in the attic held their breath so as not to be heard. Among them was a Jewess with a little child. All at once the child began to cry. As soon as the mother saw that she and the child were endangering the lives of the others she resolved to sacrifice herself. She tore a board out of the corner of the attic and jumped through the opening with her child into the neighboring yard, which belonged to a Christian. The bandits did not notice her. The woman and child were saved as if by a miracle. The mother received a few wounds, the child was unhurt.

#### **IX.—Christian Protectors of the Jews**

It would be unjust not to speak of the Christians who in those terrible days formed a shining exception to their insanely brutalized environment. They should be especially mentioned and remembered with respect for the reason that they were so few.

First of all, a priest should be spoken of, who took Jewish families under his protection, while his son was one of the bandits. Then Mr. NASAROW, a collaborator to the daily paper *Nowosti*, who desired to protect an old



Jew who had been fallen upon on the street by the bandits. Mr. Nasarow would himself have been killed in his attempt had not some one suddenly called out: "What are you doing there? That is a Christian you are beating."

Engineer KUSCH, the chief of a fire brigade, using the fire hose, succeeded in clearing out a few streets.

The physician, DOROSCHEWSKY, took the families of many Jewish physicians and dentists into his house and rescued them.

The police commissioner of the Third Ward protected all the Jewish houses in his district from the bandits.

Captain MICHAJLOW, who hastened to Kishinef with his company from Bendery, at once called a halt before a house out of which issued heartrending calls for help, and some of his soldiers pushed their way into the dwelling to offer protection. Unfortunately they found little more to do than to protect the bodies of two women who had just been killed. Michajlow later received a rebuke from his superior commander for infringement of discipline, altho two weeks afterward he received a decoration from St. Petersburg for his humanity, through the intervention in his behalf of the commander-in-chief of the Odessa military district, General Mussin-Pushkin.

We must mention, further, the act of certain students who rescued an old Jew from the pursuing bandits by taking him into a tram-car, in spite of the opposition of the other passengers.

In conclusion, especial honor must be given to the Mayor of Kishinef, ALEXANDER SCHMIDT, and to the lord marshal of the province, KRUPENSKY, who did all in their power for the protection of the Jews. The mayor went

to the governor and vice-governor in the first hour of the outbreak, and requested—unfortunately, in vain—the immediate intervention of the soldiery. It was through the intervention of the lord-marshal, Krupensky, that the Jewish doctor, Mutschnik, could telegraph what had happened from Bendery to St. Petersburg early Monday morning. Krupensky not only spent a considerable sum at once for the Jews who had suffered, but he turned his whole house into a hospital for the wounded, and himself assisted in caring for them.

#### **X.—End of the Outbreak**

On Monday, at five in the afternoon, a telegraphic despatch arrived from St. Petersburg with the command to put an end to the excesses. Toward 6 o'clock, accordingly, several companies marched out in full warlike equipment. The report was everywhere circulated that authority had passed into the hands of the military commander, and that now every excess would be suppressed by force of arms.

As soon as Kishinef was placed under martial law the excesses ceased without its having been necessary to fire a shot. Only in the more remote quarters of the city, which the soldiers had not yet reached, did the robbery continue until late into the night.

The news of the pillaging of Kishinef had spread into the surrounding districts with the rapidity of lightning. On Monday evening, and on the following days, the peasants arrived in crowds, coming by train or in small carts. They were no longer permitted to enter the city. Most of them begged to be admitted for only a few

hours, or at least for one hour. Many wanted to force their way in, and the soldiers had hard work to withstand the crowds.

The city lay desolate, as if the worst vandals had housed in it. A city conquered by an enemy could hardly have shown such terrible traces of devastation. A frightful heap of stones, wood, glass, stuffs, and feathers filled the Jewish quarters throughout the length of whole streets. Darkness settled upon the looted houses with their paneless windows. The stillness of death extended far and wide. Many houses were empty of human inhabitants. In others the Jews sat in the homes which had been transformed into heaps of rubbish, staring in front of them in speechless despair and grief. Not one made a step into the street. They were still afraid lest the horrors might begin again at any moment.

Death, desolation, and unspeakable sadness filled the streets where a few days before a peaceful, patient, and diligent people had circulated, content to earn a scanty living. The victims were, for the most part, poor people, who did not have much besides their wives and children and the room with its little household furniture, which constituted their home and whole fortune.

This is the simple, truthful tale of the Russian massacre of St. Bartholomew of the year of grace 1903.

## II

### FOUR GREAT INDIGNATION MEETINGS

#### I.—Mass-Meeting in Baltimore, Maryland

*(Held May 17, 1903, at the Academy of Music)*

##### **Introductory Address of Mayor THOMAS G. HAYES**

TO MARYLANDERS, whose very atmosphere is impregnated with religious liberty, to those whose ancestors in 1634 brought with them to these shores religious liberty, it is difficult to believe that these Jews have been murdered in their homes, and their women slain after having been robbed of the dearest treasures of womanhood in life. I say that it is difficult to conceive that, in 1903, in a so-called civilized country, such unspeakable atrocities could have been inflicted on law-abiding people, and with the practical connivance of the local police. Think of it: in this twentieth century, and in a part of the world that claims to the rank of a civilized nation, women and children have been butchered while the Russian police stood idly by. It is an indelible disgrace to the government that did not prevent it, and it will surely raise a protest that will be loudly heard in the imperial halls of St. Petersburg.

##### **Speech of Congressman JOHN L. V. FINDLEY**

We have assembled here this afternoon, without regard to creed, race, conditions, or nationality, for the purpose of discharging the highest duty that man can perform—the duty that he owes to humanity itself. It was the

Easter season, at the high tide of the Christian festival, when this unspeakable outrage against every principle for which the name of Christ stands, and which the religion that he taught is supposed to embody, was inflicted upon a peaceable and unoffending class of our fellow beings in a distant province of Russia. The pretense for the murderous assault is too silly for discussion, and could only have been imposed upon a fanatical mob already inflamed with ugliest passions of racial and religious animosity.

Swayed by these passions, armed with all the weapons of devilry, this mob was let loose to work its cursed will, unrestrained by law or mercy, for three days against helpless, unarmed men, women, and children—yes, even babies at the breast, who were snatched from the arms of pleading mothers, and hurled through windows into the streets along with the household furniture and the very cradles in which they were rocked. Old men, who in the course of nature must soon have quietly paid its debt; mothers in the midst of shrieking children; wives alongside of their husbands, were indiscriminately shot down, hacked to pieces, torn and mutilated by those frenzied fanatics, much worse than wild beasts as man, in his power for mischief and the multiplied instruments of death and destruction, is superior to the lion or the tiger at his best. From April 20th to the close of the 22d these scenes of bloody murder and outrages worse than death were repeated in the streets of the capital of Bessarabia, to the accompaniment of horrors that the Indian savage or the red-handed Septembrists of the French Revolution never surpassed. The number who were butchered suggests war rather than assassination; the

wounded and injured, in more or less stages of helpless mutilation, amount into the hundreds ; and in addition to this appalling loss of life and limb, there must be taken into account a wanton and wholesale destruction of property, which has left the survivors penniless in a land already cursed with poverty.

And all this hideous work was carried on to the cry, " Kill the Jews ! " There can be no question as to the motive that impelled these wretches, and there would also seem to be none as to the indifference, if not the positive sympathy, of the local authorities who, with armed forces near at hand, allowed the riot to run on for three days before any forcible action was taken to put an end to the outrage.

The first question is, Who is responsible ? and the second, How can that responsibility be enforced, if at all ? A ship goes down at sea with all on board, and is never heard of again ; Mont Pelée explodes in a ruinous eruption, and 30,000 people lose their lives at one fell stroke. We are paralyzed by the immensity of such disasters, but on recovering from the shock can only say they were from God. Here, too, we stand impotent in the presence of disaster. But is this one of the calamities that must pass, like the storm or the earthquake, unquestioned and unavenged ? Is there nothing more to be done than to recognize the calamity as one of those unavoidable freaks of fate for which the only possible relief is the repair of the damage so far as possible, just as we rebuild after a fire or a hurricane ? Dr. Felix Adler is reported as saying that he would take no part in a public protest against this outrage unless the Czar was excused from all responsibility for it, and in one sense

he is clearly right, for the Czar personally had no more to do with it than any one of you before me now. He is usually represented as a kind-hearted and broad-minded man, with humane instincts that have carried him to the length of proposing to get rid of war and bloodshed altogether ; and it would be very wide of the mark and unjust to claim that he had any part in actually provoking the outrage, or any sympathy with the fanatics who were guilty of its perpetration.

But is there no sense in which the American people may lift up their voice in protest against a crime of this magnitude, with the right to believe that it will be heard and heeded even by the governing class of Russia ? Public opinion is omnipotent here, and, sooner or later is reflected in the written law and the public policy of the country.

No foreign power can long maintain the good will and respect of the government of the United States that does not enjoy the confidence and respect of the people of the United States, because the people here are in fact the government. Now, when I was in Berlin last summer, I was amazed to learn that if I desired to make a visit to Russia, which I was then contemplating, it would be necessary for me to make an affidavit before the American consul declaring my religious belief before my passport would be viséed by the Russian consul. I could not understand what my views or beliefs in religious matters had to do with the privilege of travel in a foreign land, or why my passport, under the great seal of the United States, should be converted into a sort of profession of faith. I was determined to find out the cause of this extraordinary procedure, and finally learned that it was

all aimed against the Jews, and that no Jew was allowed to go to Russia except temporarily on business, and that this device of making a traveler swear whether he was a Protestant, Catholic, Mohammedan, or what not, was simply an invention to prevent a Jew from entering the domain of the Czar.

Whoever is responsible for that regulation is responsible in part for the official recognition of the ignorant prejudice that prevails among the peasants and lower classes against the Jews, and to the extent of the encouragement given by that official recognition to this ignorant prejudice, Russia is and ought to be held responsible for some share in this outrage by the enlightened public opinion of the United States and of the world.

If the whole seventy-five millions of people in the United States could be assembled in one vast mass-meeting, with the President of the United States as chairman, and should adopt unanimously a resolution protesting against such barbarities as we are here to denounce, and the resolution should be published in every newspaper in the United States, the fact even that such a meeting was held would never become an operative idea in the consciousness of the masses of Russia as they now are. If, on the other hand, the governing powers in Russia (I do not by this mean the Czar alone, by any means) should make it known through the Church and otherwise that the Czar was friendly to the Jews, and that these riots and murders were displeasing to him, and the policy of the government toward the Jew should be one of encouragement instead of repression, there would be a marked change for the better in the condition of the Jew. The point I am trying to make is that the



public opinion of the United States must be brought to bear, so far as possible, upon the governing power in Russia, and can expect but little help, in the first instance, from the masses of the people themselves.

The first thing, then, is to create this opinion, and this can be done only by an appeal to the sympathies, and at the same time to the interests, of the people. The next thing is to get the concentrated expression of both embodied in the public policy of the country. It is a comparatively easy matter to arouse sympathy with the downtrodden and oppressed, but it is not so easy to make the people understand that great questions of national policy are involved in these anti-Semitic demonstrations that periodically break out in the Old World.

A man has a right to live and die where he is born. His transplantation to a foreign soil is always accomplished with a tremendous wrench to his own feelings and expectations in life, as well as to the feelings and expectations of those who are dependent upon him for their stay and support. But the transfer, when it is done by force, involves serious consequences also to those peoples upon whom the man has been thrust. Otherwise it might reasonably be asked, What concern have we with a riotous outbreak in Russia which has resulted in the loss of a few dozens of lives and the destruction of a few hundred thousand dollars' worth of property? Why not let the Russians manage their own affairs and ourselves attend to our own business? Have we not sins of our own of the same kind, altho, thank God, not to the same extent, to answer for? Yes; but we, and we alone, do answer for these. We have a clear right to protest against evils that are not of our creation, but from the

effects of which we nevertheless suffer. We now do as we have always done.

When Greece was under the heel of the Turk, the Congress of the United States thrilled with the eloquence of Clay and Webster in her behalf. When the South American republics broke the fetters of the Spanish thralldom, again the great heart of the United States leaped up in sympathetic response. The Cubans cried for help, and the Stars and Stripes streamed at the head of our advancing columns up San Juan hill on one side of the globe, and the guns of Dewey thundered at Manila on the other. Armenia sent us a despairing cry, and the answer, quick as lightning, flashed under the sea, and only last summer the State Department sent a timely remonstrance to Rumania in behalf of the persecuted and distressed Jews in that country.

This is the historical reason, and if you require any other, I reply that the United States is its brother's keeper in a sense that no other country can claim. Into this great ocean of humanity of ours all the tributary streams of the globe have poured. Man, as distinguished from man, is represented here as he never was before. We are Americans above all else, it is true, but Jew and Gentile meet here on a common plane, made up of the representatives of every civilized nationality under the sun, and all constitute the body of American citizenship. We are our brother's keeper because all the world is brother to us, and so it will ever be so long as the Capitol stands or the flag flies from its summit.

One other thing ought not to be forgotten. Fine words butter no bread, and all the protests that we may make will not bring present relief to the injured and

starving victims of this mob. Americans are the most generous people in the world, and now is the time for them to make a deep dive into their pockets and bring up rich stores out of the abundance with which the Almighty has blessed them. New York has responded with characteristic liberality. Let not Baltimore, in proportion to her means, fall behind.

**Speech of ROGER W. CULL**

The time has come, in view of the recent events at Kishinef, when civilized nations must pronounce upon the position of Russia as an aspirant to the consideration and treatment due in international intercourse to all civilized powers. That pronouncement must be that by her continued resort at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries to the principles and practises of the Dark Ages, the Russian empire has forfeited its place among the civilized governments of the earth. Beginning with the legal proscription of the Jews in the early eighties of the century just closed, Russia has brought the persecution and murder of great numbers of the race since the promulgation of the May-laws to a culmination in the massacre of Kishinef, in the presence of whose horrors the civilized world to-day stands aghast.

Russia, in Christian Finland, by breach of national faith, without example in modern times, not forgetting even the partition of Poland, is crushing out the constitutional liberties of a peaceful, industrious, and loyal people. She has even prohibited the use of the native tongue, not only in the public offices, but in the schools,

ultimately aiming at the suppression of the Protestant religion, to which most of the Finns are devoted. Only to-day a despatch from Berlin informs the world that the Russian government is taking all possible steps to oppress Roman Catholics in the province of Volhynia, on the Polish border. Catholics are not allowed to buy or inherit real estate. Schools using the Polish language are being closed, and the Napoleonic code, which had prevailed in the province, has been abolished, and oppressive laws substituted for it. Nevertheless, while these measures have characterized Russian domestic policy, that nation has constituted itself, with incredible impudence and hypocrisy, the guardian of the lives and property of the Christians of Turkey, and the Czar sends from his soldier-protected seclusion messages of peace and good will to all the world, along with mysterious hints and suggestions of religious tolerance, while his government is crushing out by its ethics all religions within the borders of the empire which are not in accord with the faith of the Greek Church.

What, then, must be the consideration given by civilized nations to a nation pursuing such policies as these, and yet seeking, as Russia does, admission into the society of civilized peoples and claiming a position of equality among them? The answer to this question is plain. If the civilized peoples of the earth regard either conscience or self-respect as factors in their policies, they must demonstrate to Russian statesmanship that it is interposing against the interests of the Russian people obstacles which can not be overcome until the Russian government furnishes uniformity of protection and treatment under her laws to all of her people regardless of

race or religion, and that from these laws racial and religious hatred and discrimination must be eliminated, and, above all, that the cruel clutch of the head of the Holy Synod shall be released from the throats of Russian subjects whose conscience can not subscribe to the creed of the Greek Church. I do not know whether Russia can be taught anything, but if she can she must be taught such a sense of her responsibility to the opinion of the civilized world that her statesmanship and policies shall be alive and responsive to that opinion.

The American people are an acknowledged world power, fortunately situated not only to share, but to take the leading part in the discharge of the duties imposed upon civilized nations by the conditions in Russia to which I have referred. The United States can not, from the geographical position of its territory on this side and beyond the seas, be justly or reasonably suspected by Russia of ulterior and selfish designs, if she protests against the failure of that empire to perform the obligations incumbent upon every civilized power. The protest, therefore, of this government would go to Russia unimpaired by any suspicion of selfish purpose, and such a protest would not, in my judgment, fail to have effect upon the Russian government as a striking evidence of the profound impression wrought upon the people of this country by the events which have taken place in Russia during the last quarter of a century.

Indeed, the opinion of the whole world has become so inimical to Russia as to constitute a serious and growing question of her title to the position and rights of a civilized power, and an impairment of her national prestige certain to affect ultimately her national interests. Rus-

sia, emerging from the barbarous interior of Asia, in contact with whose peoples she has formed her policies, has on all sides come in contact with the civilization of the world. She must, therefore, hereafter reckon with peoples who possess and respect law and order ; who are brought up to a love of justice and right ; among whom public opinion makes laws and treaties and national policies ; and who will not tolerate in their governments policies toward foreign nations based upon the prevailing diplomatic assumption that in the game of international politics all nations are alike, all equally without conscience, and all equally a law unto themselves.

#### **Speech of ex-Governor W. P. WHYTE**

In the last few days we have been inexpressibly shocked through private letters, individual communications, and stray reports from the press, which have percolated through the barrier of international diplomacy, at the recital of the horrible outrages committed at Kishinef upon the Jewish people. Such brutalities, whether committed under the guise of doing God's service and in the perverted name of religion, or through the savage instincts which are the fruits of unrestrained license, rouse the abhorrence and condemnation of the guilty, and invite the warmest sympathy with the victims. These conflicting emotions of righteous indignation and sympathetic sorrow belong to no race or nation, no sect or division of the Church of God. It is the divine instinct that lies at the root of the brotherhood of man. Persecution can never be used in a righteous cause.

The Christian owes the Jew a debt of love and com-

passion. We of the Christian household of faith must never forget that the first Christmas has been reared among the noblest traditions of the Hebrews. They had been educated to render, with strictest scrupulosity, unquestioning obedience to the law and a ritual. They had been taught amid the lax morals of their times the absolute duty of leading a holy and religious life. Whatever superstructure they built thereafter, it was upon the solid foundation of the moral character of their early life. We are here to express, with the Jewish residents of this city, our horror of the massacre in Bessarabia, and to unite, as best we can, in the relief of the sufferers in that awful tragedy.

Life has been a battle with the Jewish people since the time of Nehemiah, when the Jews returned to build Jerusalem, for while they worked upon the walls every one with one of his hands wrought upon the work and with the other hand held a weapon.

It was the pursuit of the arts of peace under the panoply of war. In the seventieth year of the first century the capture and destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, under Titus, exceeded in horror all other records of human sorrow. It was at the great annual feast of the Passover, and a million of souls had gathered in the city. The slaughter that raged among this multitude was enormous. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries armed assaults had been made against the Jews, in which thousands had perished. In the sixteenth century innocent persons, almost without number, were butchered by a furious mob, and a vast territory fell under the contagion of fanatical slaughter, and was steeped in human blood. The air was made hideous with the wailings of the dying

and the mournings for the dead. We had supposed that the persecutions and plunder which had marred the record of the Middle Ages were a thing of the dead past, altho we have not forgotten the ill-treatment which the Jews of Russia received in 1881, and the three years that followed, for the reason that the fugitives in great measure looked to America as a harbor of refuge and of peace, and turned their faces thitherward. Since then our cities have been increased by the arrival of new recruits, constituting a busy element in our thriving municipalities.

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#### LETTERS TO THE CHAIRMAN

**Letter of JOHN WALTER SMITH, Governor of Maryland**

DEAR SIR: I have received your invitation to be present at the meeting to be held in Baltimore on May 17th, which has been called to express our horror at the massacres which have recently occurred at Kishinef, and our sympathy for those who have suffered and are suffering on account of the outrages, of which accounts have been reported in the daily papers.

I regret, owing to prior engagements, that it will be impossible for me to be in Baltimore on the day named; but notwithstanding that I can not be present, I am unable to refrain from expressing to you my sorrow and amazement that such an outrage could have occurred in any country on the earth, and that it should have been caused by religious prejudice; and also my sincere sympathy for those who have been robbed of their property and bereaved of their friends and natural protectors by this outbreak of barbarism, which has shocked the civilized world.



**Letter of His Eminence CARDINAL GIBBONS**

MY DEAR SIR : I regret that my enforced absence from the city on May 17th will prevent my presence at the meeting you have called to voice your horror at the events that have recently taken place at Kishinef. I have no hesitation, however, to express my deep abhorrence at the massacres that have carried to their graves gray hair and innocent childhood. Our sense of justice revolts at the thought of persecution for religion's sake, but when persecution is attended with murder and pillage, the brain reels and the heart sickens and righteous indignation is aroused at the enormity of the crime.

What a blot upon civilization is this slaughter of inoffensive men, women, and children ! Please convey to the meeting my grief for the dead, my sympathy for those made helpless by the murder of their natural protectors, and my sincere hope that this twentieth century will see the end of all such occurrences, and that peace, good will, and brotherly love may prevail on earth.

**Letter of the Hon. ISIDOR RAYNER**

DEAR DOCTOR : I have explained to you and the gentlemen who called on me with you the reasons that prevent me from attending and taking part in the meeting to-day. No one can feel a deeper interest than I do in the cause that this meeting represents. I feel so profoundly upon the subject that it would be almost impossible to express not only my sympathy for these victims of persecution, but my resentment and indignation at the atrocities that are being inflicted upon them.

I have tried upon other occasions in vain to bring

about some official action upon the part of the government which would tend to ameliorate the condition of these unfortunate sufferers. Despoiled of their homes, driven from their places of worship, deprived of human rights, robbed of their birthright, and utterly unprotected by law, they appeal to us not only for relief, but to take some concerted steps which will bring to a termination this horrible chapter of affliction.

*The time has come when temporary expedients should give way to permanent and united effort.* I am confident that the free and intelligent people of this country do not fully grasp the situation that confronts millions of innocent beings in a land against whose laws or institutions they have committed no crime, unless it be a crime to worship God according to the traditions of our faith and the dictates of our conscience.

The policy of the Russian government is at war with the providence of God, and if there is any justice in this world some way must be found which will cause its rulers to abandon their creed of intolerance and oppression, and in place of it establish the principles of justice and humanity. An earnest appeal from this government emanating from its legislative branches through the intervention of friendly offices, in my judgment, could bring about the desired result, and every effort ought to be made to obtain this action. It has been done at other times in our history, and it will be done now if a combined pressure is brought upon Congress to take action in the matter. I can only say to you that a thrill of horror fills every pulse of my being as I realize that in this age of progress and enlightenment the liberal governments of this world should stand by with supreme in-

difference as this procession of human beings marches on to the gates of martyrdom and despair.

I am willing in any way I can to unite with you in agitating this subject until the day shall come when this torture of the innocent shall cease, and when they shall receive the human rights and human recognition that they are entitled to by every law of justice and humanity. This is all they claim. God has given them this inheritance, and it ought not in this day of religious freedom to be in the power of any government upon the face of this earth to deprive them of it.

**Letter of the Hon. MAYER SULZBERGER**

DEAR DR. FRIEDENWALD : Words are too weak to characterize the atrocities perpetrated in Russia. We can only hope that the dread details may at last arouse the conscience of the civilized world respecting the treatment of Jews and other minorities. Then will it be seen that "the Jewish question" is a mere misnomer for the great problem whether powerful nations are capable of rising to the moral height of doing justice to the numerically weak.

Should so salutary a result follow, the blood that flowed will not have been shed in vain. In the meantime, let each do what he can to relieve the actual suffering.

**Letter of the Rev. J. S. B. HODGES**

DEAR SIR: Unable to be present with you this evening, may I be permitted to add my voice to the hundreds and thousands—yes, millions—of voices which should be raised in indignant protest, in every land, against the

savage and inhuman treatment of the Jewish people in Kishinef on Easter Sunday last. Words fail to give expression to my feelings of horror and indignation as I read the details of robbery, cruelty, and bloodshed rarely, if ever, surpassed in barbarity. And it is with a feeling of shame that I read of all this being done by those who call themselves Christians.

On this account, it seems to me that the strongest and loudest protest should come from Christian people and Christian governments, that the shame and the dishonor thus brought upon the Christian name may be wiped away. With feelings of deepest sympathy for those who have been subjected to these atrocious crimes against humanity, permit me to express the hope that the protest of all men in every country and of every creed may be so loud, so strong, and so prolonged that never again such crimes shall be possible, much less permitted.

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### RESOLUTIONS

*Whereas*, The cumulative reports of barbarous murders and atrocities committed upon the Jewish inhabitants of Kishinef and its vicinity no longer leave room for doubt that a state of things prevails there which is without a parallel in the history of our times, and which has driven many thousands of persons from their homes in terror of their lives; and

*Whereas*, These outrages are but the natural outcome of the oppressive and cruel laws which for almost a quarter of a century have weighed upon the Jews of Russia, acting as a constant incitement to the evil passions of the populace; and

*Whereas*, The Russian government, in spite of ample warning of the impending trouble at Kishinef, failed to take measures to prevent it, allowed the massacres to go practically unchecked for three days, and, so far as known, has taken no steps for such adequate punishment of delinquent officials as is essential for the prevention of similar outrages in the future; and

*Whereas*, The suffering of the victims of these barbarities, and the perilous situation of those threatened with similar visitations, urgently demand on the part of those living in more fortunate countries the exertion of all possible influence to bring about a remedy; therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That we express our profound sympathy with the victims of blind and cruel religious hatred and intolerance, and our abhorrence of a condition of law and government which makes such excesses possible.

*Resolved*, That failure to take the most prompt and effective measures to stop the spread of these barbarous outbreaks, and to give effective protection to the innocent Jews who are objects of them, would constitute an indelible disgrace to Russia in the eyes of the whole civilized world, the more so in view of the identification of the Czar of Russia with beneficent projects of peace, tolerance, and reform.

*Resolved*, That, in accordance with the traditions of humanity with which our own country has ever been associated, it is the duty of the United States government in all available ways to bring such influence to bear on the Russian government as may tend to bring about a cessation of these inhumanities.

*Resolved*, That we appeal to the people of the United States to call upon their representatives in Congress to

give vigor and effect to the well-established traditions of this country in a proper protest against the violation of the principles of humanity and civilization involved in the outrages to which the Jews of Russia have been subjected.

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## II.—The Mass-Meeting in New York City

*(Held May 27, 1903, at Carnegie Hall)*

### Introductory Address of Mayor SETH LOW

About 250 years ago—indeed, the year after New Amsterdam became a city—some Spanish and Portuguese Jews found their way here and were made welcome. From that day to this the Jews have been made to feel at home in New York, until to-day this city contains three times as many Jews as any other city in the world. This circumstance gives us warrant to say two things out of our own experience: First, that the Jew is a quiet, orderly, and industrious citizen; and, second, that if treated with kindness instead of with cruelty, he becomes a source of strength to a nation and not a weakness. It also entitles the citizens of New York to protest vigorously against such horrors as those of Kishinef.

It is a noteworthy thing that this movement of protest in New York began upon the East Side. Before even the press had taken great notice of the long-continued Kishinef rioting, our fellow-citizens of Jewish birth, many of whom know by experience what a Russian riot

is, had begun to raise a fund for the relief of the sufferers, and to protest against the outrages. Nearly three weeks ago I addressed an audience on the Bowery gathered for that purpose, and I told them, what I gladly repeat here, that their fellow citizens of every name and creed are as one with them in detestation of this horror, and that we honor them for the prompt and effective steps they have taken to send relief to their friends.

But here I can say what I did not say there—for this is a meeting held under Christian auspices—that in the name of our religion we grieve that such a stain should be cast upon it. Russia is a friendly Power to the United States, and there are especial reasons why Americans think kindly of her ; but not for this cause should we be silent now. Nay, rather, because we desire that the two nations may continue to be true friends, we beg her so to deal with those who are to blame for this shameful outrage as to make it impossible for such a thing to happen again within her borders. We beg of her to give more liberty to her Jewish subjects ; for we may properly say that in freedom of opportunity, and not in restriction of privilege, for Christian and Jew alike, has been found, here in New York, a cure for such disturbances as those that in Russia have recently shocked the world. What New York has done for 250 years Russia can do, if she will. May God put it into her heart to do so.

Thereupon WILLIAM H. BALDWIN, Jr., member of the Committee of Arrangements, read a number of letters from persons who were prevented from attending the meeting, among which those of CARL SCHURZ and Rev. Dr. N. DWIGHT HILLIS.

Letter of **CARL SCHURZ***Former United States Senator and Secretary of the Interior*

BOLTON LANDING,

Lake George, May 25, 1903.

*His Honor Mayor Low.*

MY DEAR SIR: I am sincerely sorry I can not attend the meeting called to express the indignation of American citizens at the horrible atrocities recently committed at Kishinef. I hardly need assure you that I am heartily with you in your purpose.

While those outrages in Russia stand preeminent in their savage cruelty, it should not be forgotten that they only present one of the natural upshots of a widespread movement which in our days has put a peculiarly repulsive blot upon our vaunted civilization.

The persecution and maltreatment of human beings on account of their race or their religious belief is always an offense not only unjust to the victim, but also degrading to the offender. But the persecution and maltreatment of the Jews, as mankind has witnessed it, and is now witnessing it in several countries, has been not only especially barbarous in the ferocity of its excesses, but in a singular degree self-debasing and cowardly in the invention of the reasons adduced for its justification.

The Jews are accused of various offensive qualities and dangerous propensities. If we mean to do them anything like justice, are we not in duty bound to inquire how these qualities and propensities, so far as they may really exist, appear in the light of history?

For centuries the Jews were penned up in their ghettos and otherwise forcibly shut off from the rest of humanity, and then they were gravely accused of being clannish.



For centuries they were in most countries arbitrarily restricted in the right to hold land and to follow various civil callings, and then they were gravely accused of not taking to agriculture and of preferring to trade.

For centuries they had to defend themselves against the lawless rapacity of the powerful and against the wanton hostility of the multitude, being robbed and kicked and cuffed and spit upon like outcasts having no rights and no feelings entitled to respect ; and then they were accused of having become crafty and unscrupulous in taking advantage of the opportunities left open to them.

For centuries—and even down to our day—whenever a Jew did anything conspicuously offensive, be it in the way of business unscrupulousness or of social ostentation, the cry has been—and is : “Lo, behold the Jew !” While, when a Christian did the same thing, or even ten times worse, nobody would cry : “Lo, behold the Christian !”

And now, to cap the climax, even in this age of light and progress, and in countries boasting of their mental and moral culture, we hear apostles of anti-Semitism, even persons belonging to the so-called upper classes, insist with accents of profound alarm that if the Jews be permitted the same rights and privileges as other people, that despised race, forming so infinitesimal a part of the world’s population, will surely outwit us all, and rob us of our property, and possess themselves of all the controlling forces of society ; and that, therefore, the Jews must be shackled hand and foot with all sorts of legal disabilities, if not exterminated, in order to save Christendom from ignominious enslavement.

Nothing could be more absurd and at the same time more cowardly than such reasoning and such appeals. But it is to agitations inflamed by just this spirit that we owe horrors like those of Kishinef, in beholding which humanity stands aghast. These horrors are only one more revelation of the ulterior tendency of a movement which here and there even assumes the mask of superior respectability. Here is the whole question again brought before the tribunal of the conscience of mankind. May this event serve to put in clearer light the fact that the history of the world exhibits no more monumental record of monstrous injustice than the persecutions inflicted upon the Jews during so many centuries. We may then also hope to see the other fact universally recognized, that wherever the Jewish race, with its wonderful vitality and its remarkable productiveness of talent and energy, enjoys the equal protection of just laws and a due appreciation of its self-respect, it will, far from remaining a race of aliens, furnish its full contingent of law-abiding, peaceable, industrious, public-spirited and patriotic citizens, vieing with the best.

**Letter of the Rev. Dr. N. DWIGHT HILLIS**

*Pastor of Plymouth Church, Brooklyn*

The whole world is indebted to the noble Jewish race for the teachings of its prophets and sages and apostles and martyrs, and every man who loves his fellows must sympathize with the meeting called to protest against the outrages visited upon the helpless Hebrews in Kishinef. With you, I cherish the hope that this event, that has shocked the whole civilized world,

will bring about a reaction, and end with a decree proclaiming religious liberty, toleration, and charity to all the people of Russia. Mr. Beecher's old people last week passed resolutions of sympathy with the objects of your meeting.

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Mayor Low then introduced as the first speaker, Hon. GROVER CLEVELAND, ex-President of the United States.

### **Speech of the Hon. GROVER CLEVELAND**

I have only a word to say, but I wish to be counted among those who are in hearty sympathy with the purposes of this meeting. The influences which have called us together to-night grow out of our recognition of the promptings of Christian civilization and our dutiful devotion to the best and deepest of our national characteristics. This demonstration furnishes cheering and reassuring evidence that our American sympathy for the oppressed and abused, wherever they may be, our American love of humanity, and our attachment to justice and right, are still active and unimpaired. There is another American trait inwoven with the warp and woof of our national character, which is here exhibited in most gratifying freshness and strength. Our people, when their sympathies are touched, when their humane instincts are challenged, and when their hatred of oppression is aroused, are not afraid to speak; and in such circumstances it is not their habit to smother or cautiously soften their words.

Every American humane sentiment has been shocked by a late attack on the Jews in Russia—an attack mur-

derous, atrocious, and in every way revolting. As members of a family of mankind, and as citizens of a free nation, we are here to give voice to the feeling that should stir every true man, and every American worthy of the name. There is something intensely horrible in the wholesale murder of unoffending, defenseless men, women, and children, who have been tacitly, if not expressly, assured of safety under the protection of a professedly civilized government. Such things give rise to a distressing fear that even the enlightenment of the twentieth century has neither destroyed nor subdued the barbarity of human nature, nor wholly redeemed the civilized world from "man's inhumanity to man."

We, and all our countrymen, protest in the strongest language at our command, and with all the moral force which our American citizenship gives to us, against these murders and outrages, and we insist that swift and condign punishment ought to be visited upon their barbarous perpetrators. Nor is this all. We will, in a fashion quite American, and with an open-handedness always displayed when human distress appeals to us, assist the families made headless and robbed of support by murder, and those who, wounded and terrorized, and in hunger and want, have been driven from their homes.

I know how easily our indignation prompts us to the use of strong language, and I know how naturally we are tempted to indulge in overdrawn statements and extravagant demands on such occasions as this; but I am sure that in our characterization of the crimes we here contemplate, and in expressing our detestation of the criminals, we can not go too far. I desire to avoid

sounding a discordant note, but yet I can not refrain from the suggestion that the moral effect of our protest, and the usefulness of this demonstration, will not be lessened if we require indubitable proof before we accuse the government of Russia of guilty complicity in the crimes committed within her borders; and it seems to me we may well consider the proper relationship between nations before we unreasonably demand too pronounced interference on the part of our government. I do not say that the Russian government may not, by sins of commission or omission, be justly deserving of our condemnation; but we should not be swift to assume this when we remember that we ourselves have found it impossible to prevent mob violence and murderous assaults upon the Chinese in Wyoming and Italians in Louisiana. I am distinctly and unequivocally in favor of informing our government in unmistakable terms of our indignant and deep condemnation of the late outrages upon the Jews in Russia; but I hope that in obedience to the dictates of American conservatism and moderation, which are never long obscured, we may be even now just and fair, and that we will be content to forego perplexing and extreme demands upon our government for violent action. Our public servants should hear us speak; but we certainly ought to be justified in entrusting the care of our national honor and duty and the enforcement of the humane instincts of our people, so far as this may be within governmental action, to those charged with the responsibility of managing our public affairs.

In the meantime, let the people of the United States, gathered together in such assemblages as this, in every part of the land, fearlessly speak to the civilized world,

protesting against every pretense of civilization that permits mediæval persecution, against every bigoted creed that forbids religious toleration and freedom of conscience, against all false enlightenment that excuses hatred and cruelty toward any race of men, and against all spurious forms of government protection that withhold from any human being the right to live in safety and toil in peace.

**Address of Dr. JACOB G. SCHURMAN**

*President of Cornell University*

If you seek to stir up the pity and indignation of the American people, and to move them to censure and protest, you need nothing but the plain facts of the Kishinef atrocities. In the presence of those scenes of incredible horror, appeal is superfluous and oratory tawdry and impertinent. The events themselves will shake the stoutest heart. Listen to the bald figures: Forty-five persons killed outright; 84 severely injured, maimed, and mutilated; 500 other persons somewhat injured, but less dangerously; 600 shops sacked, 700 houses demolished, 10,000 men, women, and children homeless and destitute, and altogether 20,000 suffering directly and indirectly from the consequences of this murderous attack.

I mention the effects only, and pass over in silence the inhuman deeds by which they were accomplished—tongues torn out, ears and noses cut off, the cruel severing of limbs, nails driven to the brain, and other barbarous forms of killing; the desecration of womanhood by vile murderers, and the unpitied agonies of little

children. Let us draw the veil over this ghastly and ghoulish carnival of robbery, butchery, and hellish passion.

And who were the unhappy victims? The Jews of Kishinef. What offense had they committed? None. What provocation, then, had they given? None whatever. This is passing strange. Here is a piece of diabolical work which outvies the savagery of Dakotahs or Apaches, and it was wrought in Russia—civilized and Christian Russia! And is there no—I will not say justification—but no excuse, no mitigating circumstance? The historian must declare that it was an unprovoked assault and butchery of inoffensive and unprotected Jews by the Christian mob of Kishinef.

O Christ, what crimes have been committed in Thy name against the race which gave Thee to the world! Thy gospel of peace and good will to man has brought the Jews at the hands of Thy unworthy followers too often only hatred, pillage, and massacre. It was no accident that these Kishinef horrors fell at the Easter season. That blessed occasion was used only to accentuate religious differences, to foster outrageous misrepresentations regarding the religious rites of the Jews, and to intensify the spirit of bigotry, superstition, and intolerance, which easily produce, not only hatred, but strife and murder. Thus religion, or rather the perversion of religion, undoubtedly played its part in bringing about the massacre at Kishinef.

But difference of religion had always existed. And in Kishinef Jews and Christians had long dwelt together in peace, most of the Jews, indeed, being natives of the soil. But of recent years anti-Semitic agitation,

which, unhappily, has spread over much of Europe, reached Kishinef also. An anti-Semitic newspaper was established in the city, and, while the censor authorized this, he disallowed any other journal which might refute its libelous misrepresentations or antagonize its policies. The burden of this paper was that the Jews must be got rid of. And when the mob finally followed the thinly veiled editorial advice of sack and murder, they were, from the moral point of view, not more blameworthy than the editor. And the Russian administration which officially authorized and conferred a monopoly upon this anti-Semitic journal will find difficulty in exculpating itself from responsibility for the terrible, but natural and indeed inevitable, results of its teachings.

I see it stated in high quarters that the Jews of Russia are idlers and exploit the Russian peasantry. If this be true, I have yet to learn that it is a justification of pillage and massacre. Our neighbor is lazy and given to usury: shall we, therefore, kill him—him and his family? This diabolical reasoning adds insult to injury. But the premises themselves are false. Jewish exploitation of Russia, forsooth! Why, under the laws of Russia, Jews are not permitted to buy, lease, or rent real estate, whether rural or urban; they dare not do business with the peasants or lend them money; they are disabled from engaging in agriculture or (except under onerous restrictions) in mechanical pursuits; and the education of Jewish youth is rendered extremely difficult and often impossible. And a population thus legally cribbed, cabin'd, and confined is accused of idleness and usury! Murder is hard enough, but what shall we say of this palliation of murder by lying and hypocrisy?



The trouble is in the Russian official attitude toward the Jew. He is not treated as a fellow man; he is denied the rights of a citizen. Official Russia giving the tone, individual Russians—undoubtedly of the baser sort—carry it to the extreme of insult, cruelty, pillage, and murder. Would Russia protect the Jew? Then emancipate him from galling restrictions and unjust disabilities, and enfranchise him as he is enfranchised in the United States. I see no adequate and permanent security for the Russian Jew except the opportunity, now denied him, of being a man and a citizen. And even in the midst of the present gloom and horror I am not without hope that the Czar, who, I believe, is animated by a noble idealism, may yet confer the full rights and privileges of Russians on his now oppressed and suffering Jewish subjects. *If not, America is still another name for opportunity*, and a race of such capacity and endurance as the Jews is not only assured of triumphant survival, but, by virtue of its contributions to our highest civilization, is entitled to universal welcome.

**Address of the Rev. Dr. ROBERT S. McARTHUR**

*Pastor of Calvary Baptist Church, New York City*

To the words which have just been spoken I give a long and loud Amen!

We meet under the shadows of atrocities committed at Kishinef, shadows which darken the sky of the civilized world. The agonizing cries of Jewish men, women, and children ring in our ears and almost rend our hearts. The cruelties inflicted by brutal Russians on helpless

Jews have shocked civilized humanity. These cruelties are caused by racial hatred and religious bigotry. They carry us back to the Middle Ages, while we thought we were in the twentieth century. We were flattering ourselves that the days of such hatreds and bigotries had passed away forever. The report of these atrocities, therefore, fell upon us like a thunderbolt out of a clear sky. Every Christian pulpit, every humanitarian platform, and the entire newspaper press should ring with denunciation of these indescribable and inconceivable cruelties. These barbarians who call themselves Christians are utterly unworthy of the Christian name. They are a dishonor to Christianity and a reproach to humanity. They have brought the persecutions of the dark ages into the clear light of the twentieth century. Napoleon said, "Scratch a Russian and you find a Tartar." We may say truthfully of each Russian engaged in these recent massacres, "Scratch a Russian and you find a demon."

Russia is the Great Bear among the nations. Russia, so far as the murders at Kishinef represent her, is the medieval barbarian in modern civilization. Russia slaughtered so many Chinese, and then threw their bodies into the River Amur, that the wheels of steamers were impeded in their progress by the bodies floating in the stream. Russia, with her "peace rescript" at The Hague and her atrocities toward the Jews, is the gigantic contradiction among the nations. Ever since the coronation of Ivan the Great, in 1462, the Czar of Russia has posed as God's viceregent. Since that time Russia has claimed a Divine right to be the world's master. Russia is now aiming to rule the world. Her

deepest thought is that one day the world's mastership will be hers. She wanted Siberia, and she took it. She wanted Central Asia, and she took it. She wanted Manchuria, and she is taking it. She wants India; she wants the universe, and she hopes to get both; but she may have to listen to the voice of Britain and America and Japan before she can claim possession.

The foolish story which perhaps was the immediate cause of the outbreaks at Kishinef, the story of the murder of a Christian child for the sacrifice of the Feast of the Passover, is a story that was told against the early Christians by Pagan Roman persecutors. Similar charges were often brought by the superstitious and bigoted Christians of the dark ages against the Jews. The possibility that such a story could now be believed in Russia shows that some of the people are as illiterate and superstitious as if they lived in darkest Africa or in most heathen China.

Jews have been the victims of persecutions by so-called Christians in different lands and ages. The Christians guilty of these persecutions, in the name of the God of the Jew and the Christian, were demons rather than Christians. In the name of the God of Love, they manifested the most murderous hate. They brought unspeakable reproach upon Christianity. They were disciples of Sataninity rather than of Christianity. Christians of this character make atheism respectable and even commendable. If such conduct were consistently Christian, many of us would repudiate the Christian name. God would be better pleased with us did we doubt or even deny His existence rather than that we

should invoke His name and then murder His children. In Spain the Jews have had numerous colonies since the time of Hadrian, but even eight centuries before the establishment of the Spanish Inquisition their fortunes were confiscated and their bodies were tortured. They afterward endured all the horrors of the Inquisition in many parts of Spain. Violent conversion, the tortures of the Inquisition and thousands burned at the stake—these are the awful records of the fifteenth century in Spain. The incidents of their departure from that land are heartrending. Autos da fé happened in Portugal as late as 1776, and in South America as late as 1812. The story of these terrible persecutions is written in the blood of God's ancient children in many lands and centuries. In Poland similar persecutions have been endured. Religious bigotry and superstition are the prolific progenitors of agnosticism and atheism. Such atrocities are Satan's most effective agent. Racial hatred and religious bigotry are twin relics of barbarism. They transform earth, so far as their influence goes, into Hades. The Jews, to-day, in their patient endurance of unspeakable wrongs, more nearly incarnate and illustrate the ideal character set forth by Christ than do the persecutors who falsely bear the Christian name. It is not remarkable that many Jews almost hate the name of Christianity, because all through the centuries many who bore its name were their Satanic persecutors. It is marvelous that men calling themselves Christians should be so false to the spirit of the Christ and of the apostles. Such false Christians forget that the Christ was a Hebrew of the Hebrews, and that the greatest of the apostles rejoiced in his Hebrew blood and training. I

would rather be, at the bar of God and man, the persecuted Jew at Kishinef than the persecuting Christian at Kishinef.

America lifted up her voice in remonstrance against the persecution of the Jews in Roumania. There is no mightier voice issuing from any palace in Europe or Asia than the voice that issues from the White House. There is no throne of czar, kaiser, or king higher than the presidential chair at Washington. The foremost man in all the world to-night is the President of the United States, and the foremost private citizen in all the world is the ex-President of the United States. Russia listened when we protested against her trade policy in Manchuria. We stood with Britain for the "open door" for trade.

Is not religious liberty more important than any commercial opportunity? Shall we remain silent while Russia is attempting to murder a race? Shall not our national contempt for her cowardice and brutality find national expression? We protested against Spanish barbarism in Cuba, and we finally drove the Spanish bigots and barbarians out of the Western Hemisphere. No diplomatist in the world is more capable of dealing with the delicate and difficult question involved than is our accomplished Col. John Hay. He has already declared that the Golden Rule is the fundamental principle in American diplomacy. He will assuredly find the means of voicing the righteous indignation of the American people and of enunciating the higher law of the righteous God. America publishes to Russia to-night this ukase: The zone of barbarism must decrease, and the zone of civilization must increase. All the gov-

ernments with which Russia desires to maintain relations ought to utter their protest. No nation can long endure if its acts are condemned by the conscience of mankind. If Russia is to avoid the contempt of the civilized world, she must discover and punish the savage perpetrators of these foul crimes. If our government will emphatically inform Russia on what conditions she can enjoy the respect, or even the recognition, of the American government, such action by the administration will be endorsed by the American people, irrespective of political creeds or religious faiths. America, if true to herself, must rise above the barbarism of racial hatred. She must grant equal justice to all men of all creeds and all colors. Then, and only then, shall her voice be resistlessly potent in rebuking the atrocities of Russia, and then shall our beautiful America be fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners against all forms of evil wherever committed against men of whatever color or creed on this broad earth.

Standing beside the blackened homes of slaughtered Jews in Kishinef, sympathizing with widows and orphans, and weeping over new-made graves, I denounce, in the name of civilization, and in the name of Christianity, and in the name of humanity, this atrocious crime. It is blasphemy to associate the name of Christ, the keynote of whose birth song, as chanted by a celestial choir, was, "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men"—the Christ who arose from Olivet to return to His vacant throne, His lips speaking benedictions and His outstretched hands dropping blessings—with cruelties toward the people He loved, and

whose blood filled His veins. Notwithstanding all these racial hatreds in Russia, and to some degree in America still, as I believe in America, in liberty, in humanity, in brotherhood, in a true Christianity, and in Almighty God, I know a day of millennial blessing to rich and poor, black and white, Jew and Gentile, is surely coming. So I sing with Burns:

“For a’ that, and a’ that,  
It’s comin’ yet, for a’ that,  
That man to man, the warld o’er,  
Shall brithers be, for a’ that.”

**Address of the Hon. EDWARD M. SHEPARD**

If I had my way, this meeting would end with the noble and thrilling words which you have just heard. For me, indeed, it is utterly impossible to reach the mountain height of that eloquence, to stir or reach your hearts or your imaginations, after all that you have heard from those who have gone before me. What can I do except, perhaps, to say another Amen, or, perhaps, to put before you the reason and the use of any expression on the part of American citizens?

It was a Jew and a Christian who told us that God had made of one blood all the nations of men, to dwell on all the face of the earth. And when this dreadful record of an Easter day came to us under the ocean, perhaps nothing struck one who thought more than this: how nearly one is this civilization of the world! Whether we call it Christian or Jewish, or by any name whatsoever else, we see and we hear and we know that “one touch of nature makes the whole world kin.” The

misery, the murder, the hardship, and the ostracism of the Jew in Kishinef or the Jew anywhere else, or of any other race, or of men of any other religion, is your care and my care, is the care of every nation, or ought to be, and the care of every creed, or ought to be.

Here in the Russia of Tolstoi, here in the Russia of the Czar, who, as the noble sentimentalist that I have loved to believe him to be, could establish that court of arbitration at The Hague—here in that dominion comes a crime, almost the worst of civilization. And yet the crime, as has been so well said here to-night, the crime is not merely indicative of the recrudescence of barbarism the world over, the hate that I am to have for the man of another or an alien land, the hate that you will have for the man of another religion, the hate some one else is to have for the man of another color or another race—I tell you that it is all of a piece; I tell you that the true note of civilization is that note, whether we shall sound it in defense of the Jews in Russia or in defense of any other oppressed race the world over.

But what, friends, can we do here? Over in Bessarabia, over against Moldavia, that part of the world whose policies are dark, blood-stained, and dubious, there is a small city, a city like New Haven, or like Syracuse in our own State; there you have a population peaceful, industrious, law-abiding—and they are trampled and murdered as if they had been guilty, as they never were, of crimes such as those of their oppressors. What can you and I do? These Russians in Bessarabia, if they ever hear of any who are here to-night, or ever hear of New York, will they listen to what we say? Yes, they will listen. They may be



made to listen by those whom we can help to make listen. There sits upon no throne a man so powerful that he himself is not largely a creature of this public sentiment of the world. Therefore it is that you and I may utter a voice which shall be heard in St. Petersburg, a voice which shall say there: "We are prepared to believe you, O Czar, and you, Russian Ministers, to be innocent. We are prepared to believe, if the feet of justice shall be swift and unerring. Let us see your administration of justice. Let us know that, not only will the Governor of Bessarabia be sent to some other post, that this official or that official may be removed or censured, that this ukase or that ukase may go down in chancery at St. Petersburg; but let us know and see a condign punishment visited upon the malefactors. Give us that, Czar, and you, his Ministers, help him; and when you do that, then shall we believe that your sympathies are our sympathies, and that the Christians in America and in Russia are at one in all that is essential to Christianity. But until then—we say it with pain—we are in doubt, and you will leave us in doubt so long as you leave these outrages unpunished. Your skirts can be cleared only in one way."

And that thing, fellow citizens, Americans, that thing we can say. And believe me, friends, no power on earth, with its military and naval forces, can override for one moment the sentiment of humanity to which we here to-night give voice. When this same anti-Jewish mania was illustrated in the republic of France in the Dreyfus case, every wise man knew that France for the moment was weakened to its center. Every time we know of a persecution in Russia directed against Jews,

because they are Jews, we see beneath the veneer of that rapidly extending but imperfect civilization.

Mayor Low said a true thing, and it seems to be very largely to my mind the immediate lesson of this dreadful calamity and crime. You find the Jews over in Bessarabia under legal disabilities. Of course, they do not vote, for the Russians themselves do not vote. Of course, where there is no liberty and equality of privilege, inevitably there is the darkness of medievalism. They tell us that the Russian peasants, those who are the most degraded, believe these absurd and horrid stories of Jewish wrong-doing. Of course, they do this. As we were told a moment ago, the Romans believed the stories of the early Christians. Here in New York, and here in this republic of ours, the fact that we have this universal suffrage, the fact that every man, of whatever race, the moment he becomes an American, has the right to assert his manhood and take his full share in political power, that it is that gives the Jew, or gives any other race or sect or creed in our land, access to public sentiment, its share of public power, its assurance that public officers will be more or less in awe of the public power which that element may exercise.

Therefore, my wish is to see no harm to Russia. Of the five millions of Jews who are in Russia, you know, and I know, that most of them must remain there. Their roots are in the ground. There are their wives and their children, and their occupations; and their bread and their butter there is earned by them, be it with tears and sometimes in sight of blood. There they must be. I wish well to Russia, and my best wish to Russia is that she shall give to every portion of her

populace the right to be heard, that there shall be no misery and no darkness and no oppression. I would love to see Russia basking in the sun of freedom, such as Dr. MacArthur has so eloquently described as being our privilege here in America. That is my best wish.

The hour is late, but one word more. How shall we best test a government, or a civilization? Believe me, the crucial test is always to be found in its treatment of the minorities. Where the majority in faith, in power, in fashion; where the majority respects the minority—those who look differently, those who live differently, those who believe differently from them—there is the highest civilization. Where you have a government to protect the minority, to protect the unpopular, to protect, if you please, those who without crime or wrong are odious, that government is the best government. And I say that, not by way of further rebuke to the tyranny of Russia, which we declare to-night, but I say it of any land. May we here to-night take our lesson. In our land is there no form of persecution of Jews? Is there none? In the western nations of Europe is there none? There is. Is there no persecution here of minorities, or of creeds, or of races that are in minorities, that for one reason or another are unpopular? Yes. Have we Americans never ourselves shared, or seen other Americans share, in like persecution? How many weeks ago is it that when, south of Grand Street, in this very borough, on the occasion of the funeral of a revered rabbi, followed with grief by thousands and ten thousands of our most useful citizens, you had an outburst, not bloody, but as infamous in its lesser way as the crime which we condemn to-night?

Let us all remember, those who are in fashion, those who are in places of social prestige or power, all who share directly or indirectly in this persecution or depreciation of any race, or of any creed, because it is not their race or creed, they take upon themselves some measure of the responsibility, even if it be a bloody one, for their hate presents occasions of this kind the world over.

We are here to respect one another; whatever be the creed, whatever the race, whatever the belief, we are of one blood, one before God and humanity. And when that law, whether in greater things or in lesser things, is violated, there is crime and there is wrong-doing. Friends, may this voice of New York go to Russia and to St. Petersburg, and to every corner of civilization, and may it, of all things, penetrate to the heart and the mind of every American citizen, that the more we read of wrong-doing in other lands, we shall make it certain that nothing in any way resembling it shall disgrace the Stars and Stripes, nor disgrace American sovereignty the world over.

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### RESOLUTIONS

At the conclusion of Mr. SHEPARD'S address, the resolutions which had been presented by Mr. BALDWIN were put by the Mayor and carried unanimously, the Mayor saying that if all the citizens of New York had an opportunity of voting they would have expressed themselves with like unanimity:

*Whereas*, The citizens of New York have heard with intense sorrow and indignation the news of the recent outbreak against the Jews of Kishinef, Russia, and the

shocking atrocities committed by the ignorant, brutal, and misguided populace, resulting in the massacre of many men, women, and children, and the wounding and maltreatment of hundreds of victims ; be it

*Resolved*, That as citizens of a republic friendly to Russia, we earnestly urge the claim of the Jews resident in the empire to just and impartial treatment, and to protection against such outrages as the Kishinef massacre. We protest against the spirit of medieval persecution which has been revived in parts of Russia. In this country the recognition of the equality of all men before the law—whatever their race or creed—is a principle which, in practise, assures their loyal devotion to the land of their birth or adoption. *This is eminently true of the Jewish immigrants from Russia who have settled in the United States in large numbers, and who as a body have become industrious, thrifty, faithful, and law-abiding citizens.*

*Resolved*, That we sympathize with our fellow citizens of the Hebrew faith in their grief and anxiety because of this affliction of their coreligionists in Russia, and in their energetic efforts for the relief of the people of Kishinef.

*Resolved*, That the people of the United States should exercise such influence with the government of Russia as the ancient and unbroken friendship between the two nations may justify—to stay the spirit of persecution—to redress the injuries inflicted upon the Jews of Kishinef, and to prevent the recurrence of outbreaks such as have amazed the civilized world.

### III.—The Mass-Meeting in Philadelphia

*(Held at the Academy of Music, June 3, 1903)*

WILLIAM B. HACKENBURG called the meeting to order, and introduced ex-Mayor CHARLES F. WARWICK as the chairman of the meeting.

#### **Introductory Address of ex-Mayor CHARLES F. WARWICK**

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: It has been a long time since I served as even a substitute for a mayor (laughter), but my choice was probably due to the adage that "once a mayor always a mayor." I consider it one of the greatest privileges and honors of my life to preside at this meeting, because I know the heart of Philadelphia speaks in this hall to-night to protest against barbarities and inhumanities perpetrated against a people whose only crime is a heroic resolve to live and worship the God of their fathers.

#### **Speech of FREDERICK J. SHOYER, Director of Supplies**

Because of a previous engagement which renders his attendance here to-night impossible, I am here to represent as best I can his Honor, the Mayor of the City of Philadelphia, and no one more fully appreciates your disappointment at his inability to be present than I do. The right of the people peaceably to assemble to petition the government for redress of grievances is vouched to the people of the United States even as against their own rulers. The law of nations and that of nature, with reference to certain inalienable rights, make one family of all the peoples of the earth. These rights are that life and lib-

erty shall be and remain inviolate, and that property shall not be forfeited except by due process of law. The recognition of these principles makes possible the freedom of intercourse between nations in time of peace, and in time of war prevents armies from harboring malice or committing barbarities, and no breach of these rights is allowed to go unpunished.

Bearing in mind these rights, and their denial to a free, outraged, and most respectable portion of a community, a people has assembled itself in public meeting in this, the foremost city of the most advanced country in personal, political, and religious freedom. The occasion of this conference is the news that has reached us that in Kishinef, Russia, certain atrocities upon a Jewish portion of the community have been perpetrated which seem incredible. Men have been massacred with ferocious cruelty, women outraged with indescribable horrors, and, as if it were necessary to complete this most heinous work, innocent babes have been offered to vengeance. It is to discuss this situation in an intelligent and dispassionate manner, which only the American people can appreciate, that we are gathered together; and to all of this his Honor, the Mayor of the City of Philadelphia, gives his ardent and unqualified indorsement.

#### **Speech of Ex-Judge JAMES GAY GORDON**

The carnage at Kishinef is Christianity's contribution to the opening history of the twentieth century of the Christian era. The incident itself—the fact that unoffending Jews have been mercilessly and cruelly slaughtered by Christians, is novel neither in the extent nor

barbarity of the massacre. What took place at Kishinef has been taking place with more or less regular recurrence from the time of Calvary. The only unusual fact about the recent slaughter is: that it has taken place to-day, at this stage of civilization, and in a country esteemed orderly and law abiding. In all other respects Kishinef is simply a reproduction, in the stronger lights of the twentieth century, of the treatment of Jews by Christians ever since the latter became a religious body of power sufficient to persecute.

This meeting has been called to protest against the barbaric treatment of the Jews within the domain of the Czar of Russia. Upon what logical basis can such a protest be recorded by us of America? To whom shall the protest be sent, and what shall be its nature? What is it against which we are called upon to protest? Surely not merely that a score or more of innocent men have been murdered! Bloodshed is the occupation of most of the civilized nations of the world to-day, and murder is occurring in all the communities of the earth day by day. Who would not protest against murder? The laws of all states prescribe penalties for the crime and methods for its detection and punishment. Neither is it the fact that in this Russian town a mob, setting all authority at defiance, committed a number of murders with circumstances of unusual atrocity. This, too, is a matter of almost daily occurrence. Not many months since in our own State local authority was paralyzed by riotous assemblages, and blood stained the soil in more counties than one. There must be, therefore, in **this** Russian incident something more than the mere loss of life and defiance of law in a distant nation that



would cause or justify the assembling of this public meeting to protest against facts otherwise so common and unnoteworthy. Considered dispassionately and honestly, an assemblage of American citizens has only one ground upon which to stand in asking that the recent violation of law in Russia should be made the subject of extraordinary attention—and that ground must be plain to every mind not blinded by prejudice or controlled by hate and passion.

The Jews who were killed at Kishinef were killed because they were Jews, and were killed by Christians, in the name of Christianity. When the mob set about its work of horror, it made no mistake as to its victims. The object of their cruelty was kept clearly before them even at the very height of their murderous frenzy, and that object was the Jew. None fell but Jews, and the deadly strokes were all delivered by Christian hands. In other words, Kishinef simply demonstrated that religious intolerance upon the part of Christians to-day is made of the same fiber that it was from the beginning, and that where it exists in the heart it needs only a suitable environment and opportunity for its exhibition in the murderous form it has ever displayed. That is the fact with reference to Kishinef, and to Americans the lesson is obvious and the warning is clear and emphatic.

An attempt to give a political color to the Jewish slaughter and to cast the responsibility upon the government of the Czar can not be tolerated by any fair-minded observer of the facts. When we are told that the local authorities at Kishinef did not put down the mob and protect the Jews, this proves nothing but the powerlessness of the local authorities, and does not assign the

cause of the massacre. How often in the past have mobs taken possession of towns and cities within our own country; how often within the past few years jails have been broken open, stores looted, citizens shot down in the street, or lynched at the lamp-post or even burned at the stake, while jailers, marshalls, and sheriffs trembled and stood still? Would any one think of laying the blame for the atrocities of a mob in Pennsylvania, that a sheriff did not restrain, at the door of the executive authority at Harrisburg or at Washington? What occurred at Kishinef was in substance not different from this. The hounded and despised Jews were brutally dismembered by an uprising of the native population which the local magistrates neglected or were unable to suppress. To charge the Czar or his government with inspiring these horrors would be as just as to charge his Excellency, the Governor of this commonwealth, with the next outbreak which may occur in any county of this State. Yet the slaughter at Kishinef should be met with a protest from America. That protest, however, should not go to the Czar of Russia, but to the Holy Synod, the head of the Greek Church, representing organized Christianity in Russia.

It is Christianity that is on trial, and not the government of the Czar. The Jew comes out of this carnage as he has always come out of persecution in the past, with a character more Christian than his Christian persecutor. Of all races in the tide of time that have been the victims of religious intolerance, the Jew alone has exemplified the doctrine of non-resistance taught by the founder of Christianity in the Sermon on the Mount. For nineteen centuries he has been the unresisting vic-

tim of Christian intolerance. When smitten he has not struck back at his assailant, but has turned the other cheek to the smiter, as the Master whom Christians profess to follow taught that His disciples should do. The Russian barbarities concern the future status of the Jew less than the future status of Christianity. Allied with temporal power, the Christian Church has always been intolerant and generally cruel. In this respect the twentieth century is not different from the Middle Ages; St. Bartholomew's Day has its modern counterpart in Kishinef. The Torquemadas and Lauds of the past have their successors in the Patriarch of Constantinople and the Holy Synod of to-day.

That Christendom, out of its vast wealth, shall send thousands for the relief of the victims of Christian persecution will not atone for the murderous deed nor blot out the infamous stigma. When we send our dole of relief to the suffering communities of India or China, we do it from an instinct of humanity common to all peoples of whatever creed. But Christianity can not absolve itself or regain its rectitude at the bar of conscience by any mercenary atonement in this case. There is one thing, and one thing only, that the followers of the Nazarene Jew can do that will save themselves from shame and their Church from reproach, and that is to assert in terms of unequivocal emphasis not only the denunciation of the murder of the Jews, but also the absolute and unqualified rights of conscience to all men of every creed and in every land. Upon this subject no equivocal utterance will suffice. Religious intolerance and persecution, whether it employ the sword or take the form of social or political ostracism, must be denounced by

Christians as a crime abhorrent to the essence of their religion and to the life and teachings of the Jewish founder of their faith. On this subject of religious toleration Americans can hold no equivocal position, neither can Christianity speak with reservation or ambiguity. The quality of tolerance, like the quality of mercy, is not strained. It is either absolute and utter, or else it is intolerance which only waits for the opportunity to burst into persecution.

Speaking as one born into an inheritance of Christian faith, to which his heart and maturer mind still render assent, I should abjure that faith and renounce all connection with that Church did it not hold and avow the absolute right in all men to worship God according to their own personal convictions and conscience without suffering the slightest diminution of political, social, or industrial equality.

I protest in the name of the Master of Christianity against the murder of the Jews at Kishinef. I protest in the name of the doctrine of peace and brotherhood which he taught. I protest, finally, as an American living under a Constitution whose chief corner-stone is a guaranty of civil and religious liberty to all men.

Kishinef is a warning as well as a lesson. Religious hate in Russia took the form of slaughter because it displayed itself in a land where human life is held cheap, where militarism prevails, where the Church is allied with a despotic government, and where force and might are the measures of right and law. In other words, religious intolerance in Russia lifted the sword because the sword was near at hand and the known weapon of power. The point to be emphasized is, however, that the motive

was religious hate, and that through the gaps in that struggling, murderous mob can be seen the fluttering skirts of the Christian priest.

In America the same motive, the same intolerance and hate, would employ a different weapon and adopt subtler means to execute its barbarous vengeance. The cruelty of religious intolerance is measured only by its opportunities. Nothing in all its history has shown itself more cruel than the Christian fanatic with a sword in his hand. Kishinef for sheer savagery can not be exceeded by any massacre history records. Intolerance bides its time and waits its opportunity. The ostracism of Jews by Christians in America is only Kishinef with a mask on. The religious hate which in this country taboos the Jew in trades, or at the public hotel, or that assails him with sneers and scornful epithets in the street, would drive nails through his head, would cut off the breasts of mothers, and dash children from housetops to the pavements in Russia. The demonstration of tolerance depends upon its environment, but the motive is everywhere and always the same.

Let American Christians, therefore, use this occasion to rededicate themselves to the foundation principles of their government, and let American Christians protest against all forms of religious intolerance under whatever name or guise, and against whom or whatsoever faith, and declare Christianity as being the religion of toleration, "broad and general as the casing air." Every form of Christian faith should unite in such a declaration, and should join in a protest against the outrages of Kishinef, inspired by religious hate at Kishinef.

That branch of the Christian Church, no matter what

its name or how numerous or few its members, that would halt or equivocate upon such a subject is neither Christian in principle nor worthy of the trust and liberties of the American government. Let Rome and Geneva, cathedral and meeting-house, unite in common defense of their faith, against the stain put upon it by Christians at Kishinef. If Christianity does not deny intolerance and persecution in every form, it is an outlaw at the bar of humanity, and it crucifies afresh the gentle Jew who yielded himself up even unto death that gentleness and love, peace and brotherhood, should prevail over all the world even unto the ends thereof.

**Speech of the Rev. Dr. RUSSELL H. CONWELL**

I want to declare that the outrages were not Christian proceedings. It is impossible for a Christian to persecute his fellow beings or to be unkind to the Jews, to whom we owe so much. Any cruelty in the guise of Christianity is a sham. I can not feel that in this great city there is a single person who would have participated in the recent massacre. My belief was vindicated when, without a dissenting vote, the golden-tongued Sulzberger was made a Judge of our Philadelphia courts.

When I look around and before me, and catch a sight of the glorious American flag, the sight inspires me to think that the United States means to interfere and say something by way of protest in this Kishinef matter, and if America does speak, her words will have influence in the remotest quarters of the world.

This meeting may inspire our fellow citizens in other sections to hold similar meetings. We should, therefore,

express our disapproval in conservative terms if we wish to make them effective. If you think that what is said here to-night will not reach beyond the boundaries of the walls of this building, you will find that you are mistaken. Russia is a great government, and she knows that to-day the eyes of the entire civilized world are upon her in view of the Kishinef horrors, and you will find that she has ways of learning what we are doing here to-night.

We have cause to sympathize with all persecuted peoples, for the footsteps of the men who first came to our shores were those of men who had suffered religious persecution in their native lands.

The men or mob that committed the outrages in Kishinef were not Christians. Christianity means good character, a loving heart for our fellow men. As Christians we denounce the affair as unchristian.

A speaker who preceded me said that there were some spirits even here in Philadelphia narrow enough to attempt to persecute Jews in a petty way, and he has intimated that if these persons were in Russia they would be soon as bad as the Kishinef persecutors. I do not share his opinion. I can not believe that there are any such persons in this city. I know that there is a desire on the part of some people in Philadelphia to say harsh things about Jews and indulge in petty persecutions, but I will never believe that this is a spirit representative of this City of Brotherly Love, where the persecuted of all nations and races have ever found a welcome refuge.

Brother Jews, Philadelphia has heartily welcomed you. We will tell the Czar that we hold him responsible for this matter, not as Christians or Jews, but as

Americans. Whatever goes out from here, I don't want the Czar to think that we absolve him from responsibility in this affair. We want to tell the Czar that he should do for Russia what he has tried to do for all the nations in the world by establishing the peace tribunal to prevent bloodshed and strife. It may be true that the Jew by his thrift has excited the envy of his shiftless neighbors in Russia as well as elsewhere, but this does not absolve the Czar from blame.

**Speech of Judge WILLIAM N. ASHMAN**

I do not altogether agree with what was said by that distinguished and eloquent judge, whom I have always admired, and whom I admire to-day. I think he was too severe on Christians and not quite severe enough upon Russia. I am a Christian, but I would not be a Christian at all if I hated a Jew, and we are here to-night to protest against the action of Russia.

It is near time, I think, for us to recast the word "civilization." It does not mean rich cities, vast armies, and navies. All these may be possessed by a nation, and yet there may be something behind it all that may class that nation as uncivilized.

Christianity means life because it puts men of all ranks side by side, and recognizes in them representatives of all ages having a common destiny in view. That is true Christianity. That is the civilization of the United States. I am sorry to have to say that in that sense Russia is not civilized.

This protest which we are making means, perhaps, more than any of us think. It may be called, perhaps,



the battle of paper bullets, but these are the weapons that are going to revolutionize the world. Decrees from such tribunals as ours will, perhaps, reach Russia, and will say to that mighty nation: "You are outside of the pale of civilization. We will not have anything to do with you. Your commercial and diplomatic relations with the civilized world are sundered." In face of this decree from the tribunal of the people, Russia could not for a moment stand.

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### RESOLUTIONS

Upon the invitation of the chairman, GEORGE MCCURDY, President of the Common Council, read the following resolutions, which were adopted by the meeting with acclamation:

*Whereas*, The citizens of Philadelphia have heard with intense sorrow and indignation the news of the recent outbreak against the Jews of Kishinef, Russia, and the shocking atrocities committed there, resulting in the massacre of many men, women, and children, and the wounding and maltreatment of hundreds of victims; be it

*Resolved*, That we earnestly urge the claim of the Jews resident in the empire to just and impartial treatment, and to protection against such outrages as the Kishinef massacre. We protest against the spirit of medieval persecution which has been revived in Russia. In this country the recognition of the equality of all men before the law—whatever their race or creed—is a principle which, in practise, assures their loyal devotion to the land of their birth or adoption. *This is eminently true of the Jewish immigrants from Russia who have settled in*

*the United States in large numbers, and who, as a body, have become industrious, thrifty, faithful, and law-abiding citizens.*

*Resolved*, That we sympathize with our fellow citizens of the Hebrew faith in their grief and anxiety because of this affliction of their coreligionists in Russia, and in their energetic efforts for the relief of the people of Kishinef.

*Resolved*, That the people of the United States should exercise such influence with the government of Russia as may be practicable to stay the spirit of persecution—to redress injuries inflicted upon the Jews of Kishinef, and to prevent the recurrence of outbreaks such as have amazed the civilized world.

*Resolved*, That copies of these resolutions be sent to the President of the United States and to the Secretary of State.

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#### LETTERS READ BY THE CHAIRMAN

Letter of GROVER CLEVELAND, ex-President of the  
United States

PRINCETON, N. J., May 23, 1903.

*Ben Zion D. Oliensis, Esq.*

MY DEAR SIR: Since my recent conference with you and your associates, in which you urged me to attend a mass-meeting to be held in the City of Philadelphia, to give expression to the feelings aroused by the terrible barbarities to which the Jews have recently been subjected in Russia, I have fully determined that there is no way in which I can arrange my affairs so that I can accept your invitation. The object of the meeting is one

which naturally stirs the sensibilities of every right-thinking man, and I do not wonder that our fellow-citizens in Philadelphia, as well as in other American cities, seek to unite in expressing their deep sense of horror at the cruelties which have recently been called to their attention. I hope that this meeting and the expression of American sentiment attendant thereupon may have the effect of terminating such cruel incidents and at the same time affording relief to those who have already suffered.

You will probably be surprised to learn, after my assurances to you that it would be impossible for me to attend any of the meetings of this character to which I have been invited, that I have, nevertheless, consented to attend such a meeting to be held in New York, Wednesday, May 27.

This invitation I have accepted in consequence of a condition of affairs (not understood by me at the time of my conference with your committee), by which I had become so far committed without intending it that it was impossible for me to refuse to answer the expectations which had been aroused.

**Letter of the Right Rev. Archbishop PATRICK JOHN RYAN**

ARCHBISHOP'S HOUSE,  
Logan Square, Philadelphia, *June 1, 1903.*

DEAR SIR: In reply to your request for a copy of my address on the occasion of the Citizens' Protest Meeting, on Wednesday evening, I beg to say that by an engagement of some months' standing I am obliged to be present

at the academic exercises of St. Joseph's College on that evening.

I am, of course, in entire sympathy with the object and spirit of the citizens' meeting. I have a profound horror of the wholesale massacre of women and children at Kishinef, and believe that the public opinion of the world should be united in condemnation of it.

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**Speech of Rabbi JOSEPH KRAUSKOPF, D.D.**

MR. CHAIRMAN: I rise to speak to-night, not as a Jew, but as an American citizen; not as a son of the Hebrew race, but as a member of that larger world-wide family named Humanity. Had the pillaged and outraged and massacred of Kishinef been Roman or Greek Catholics, or Finnish Protestants, I would have raised my voice in protest and denunciation as loudly as I raised it from this very platform on diverse prior occasions, at the time when the downtrodden Irishman clamored for home rule, or when the oppressed Russian Christian entreated for deliverance from the cruelties of Siberian bondage; as loudly as on other platforms I denounced the wrongs done the negro, Cuban, or Boer. Past is the day in civilized lands when only those were considered of concern who shared one's creed or blood. The religion that is not broad enough to plead the cause of the wronged of all peoples is in our day regarded unworthy of its name.

The widespread demonstration of this truth at the present time is the silver lining to the dark cloud that Russian atrocity has raised across the land of the Muscovite. Through its rifts we catch glimpses of a beauteous

beyond, of a time when even such sporadic outburst of fanaticism and scoundrelism as recently shocked the world will be made impossible by the closely interrelated sympathies of the whole human family.

A time there was when, instead of one Kishinef, Jewish history recorded a hundred ; when, instead of one ritual blood accusation, scores of them were, at the advent of every Eastertide, made the occasion of pillage and massacre of Jews. A time was when, instead of one Dreyfus, many thousands of Jews were innocently condemned and degraded and exiled to a living hell on earth. No voice was then raised in the defense of the Jew, no pen then moved in advocacy of his cause. The Jew's suffering then was no man's concern.

It is far different now. To-day the foremost newspapers of all the world devote column upon column to the branding of the would-be reinangurators of the cruel Dark Ages. Heads of Christian Churches cry out their indignation. Christian legislators pass their resolutions of protest ; Christian mayors of cities, Christian governors of states—ay, even a Christian ex-President of the United States—express in ringing sounds their condemnation of outrages against the Jews.

What is all this but an eloquent declaration that Justice is not yet dead, that Humanity, far from having surrendered its scepter, rules mightier to-day than ever before, that the cause of Right, which mighty Egypt, powerful Babylon, all-conquering Rome could not overthrow, will never be suppressed by the hand of the Russians.

Yet powerful evidences as these protests are of the growth of Humanity, the cause that gives rise to them is

no less eloquent proof that the devil likewise is not yet dead. Had the devil been dead, the recent holy Easter could never have been converted into a modern St. Bartholomew's Day. Had the devil been dead, the *Bessarabets* could never have been suffered by the lynx-eyed censor to incite the rabble to bloodshed and outrage, nor could its publication have continued to this day, under the same bloodhound editor, while the *Voskhod* is suppressed by order of the government for the crime of publishing an account of the massacre of the other paper's instigation. Had the devil been dead, his minions could never have done his work at St. Petersburg, nor could his wickedness have been extenuated in the capital of our own nation by the mouth of the Russian ambassador.

You have read the reasons assigned by Count Cassini as cause of the recent massacre, and your blood boiled in the reading of it. What would your feelings have been if, like me, you had traversed, for purposes of study and observation, the very region in which the massacres occurred, and you had with your own eyes seen the facts that give the lie to every statement made by the Russian Ambassador? These deliberate falsehoods on the part of an official high in authority would probably have afforded you an insight into the extent of the Jews' suffering in Russia. When a Russian Ambassador, in a free land, where the Jews enjoy equal rights, where they are recognized as important factors in the growth and development of the nation; where they have the right to speak, to answer the accuser, to prove the falsity of his charges, dares to give utterance to such an infamous libel, you may well imagine the falsehoods that are charged

against the Jew in Russia, where the Jew has not the right to answer his traducers, where the Jew has no recourse to court or free press or public platform to prove his innocence when his accuser is a Russian government official.

We blame the mob for its dastardly attack on the helpless and defenseless, when we should rather blame the inciting power back of it. Back of the Kishinef massacre stand years of Russian tyranny and misrule, years of extortion by Russian tax-collectors, years of riotous indulgence on the part of the Russian officials at the cost of the Russian peasantry. Back of the Kishinef massacre stands the knowledge at St. Petersburg of the spreading disaffection of the Russian people toward their government, stands the necessity of creating a vent through which the fomenting discontent might expend itself on another than the government. Back of the Kishinef massacre stands the necessity of making the Jew, the traditionally hated of the orthodox Church, to serve as the scapegoat, as the innocent sufferer for the sins of the government.

It is the sins of the Russian government and the fanaticism of the Russian Church that incited the mob to pilage, rapine, and murder, and not the sins of the Russian Jews, as Count Cassini informed the Associated Press. No Russian would ever have dared to lay violent hands on the Jew had not Russia, by endless cruel enactments against the Jew, by denying him the right of citizenship, by excluding him, for the most part, from the public schools, from the professions, from the other higher callings, by denying him the right to choose his own place of habitation, by huddling him within a restricted area,

made manifest that the Jew is held to be the outcast and pariah of Russian society, and that the nation's riddance of him is the highest desire of the Russian government and Church.

But these are not the reasons Count Cassini assigns for the recent massacre at Kishinef. The Russian Jew is disliked, he says, "because he will not work in the field or engage in agriculture." Oh, the infamy of this charge! Oh, the deviltry of first denying to the Jew the right of owning or renting or cultivating land, even of living in villages, and then charging him with not working in the field or engaging in agriculture! Oh, the cruelty of accusing the Jews of an unwillingness to till the soil, when during my visit to the Jewish agricultural colonies in the governments of Ekaterinoslaw and Cherson, which were founded by Czar Nicholas I., and are the only Jewish agricultural colonies permitted in all Russia, I myself lived among Russian Jewish peasants, saw them at work, and found their farms, despite the fact that the poorest land had been assigned them, in a far thriftier condition than those of their non-Jewish neighbors! Oh, the cruelty of the charge that the Russian Jew is unwilling to till the soil, when almost in every colony I visited—being taken for a Russian official on account of my long military cape overcoat I chanced to wear—women on their knees, amid their tear-bedewed kisses on my hands, begged me for more land to cultivate, that they might save themselves and their children from starvation!

Oh, the cruelty of that charge, when in the office of the Baron de Hirsch Committee at St. Petersburg I was shown a pile of letters, counting by the hundreds, in



which Jews from all parts of Russia begged for land to cultivate to keep starvation from their doors !

Oh, the cruelty of the charge that the Russian Jew will not devote himself to agricultural labors, when I, myself, in the year 1894, at the City of St. Petersburg, after a personal conference with the Russian Minister, Sergjej Julijewitsch de Witte, petitioned the government of the Czar for permission to settle as farmers upon unoccupied lands of the interior those of the overcrowded Jewish Pale of Settlement, who, for want of room and employment and food, are forced to emigrate to foreign shores. That petition, even tho it had the hearty indorsement of the foremost Jews of St. Petersburg, even tho it was personally presented by our American Minister, the Hon. Andrew D. White, even tho the government was promised that Jews of other parts of the world would financially aid these colonies, so that their success might obviate the necessity of Russian Jews either starving in their congested centers at home, or being driven by the thousands to other parts of the world for a livelihood—that petition has remained unanswered to this day.

“The Jew prefers to be a money-lender,” says Count Cassini. “Give a Jew a couple of dollars, and he becomes a banker and money-broker.” This charge is in falsity a worthy companion to the one I have already answered. Count Cassini would have the American people believe that the Russian Jew is bristling with wealth, when the truth of the matter is that greater misery and poverty and wretchedness than among the congested Russian Jews can perhaps not be found upon the face of the earth. I have seen much misery in my life. I have

been among the reconcentrados during the Cuban war, but not even their misery can be compared with that which I beheld in that living hell in Russia known as the Jewish Pale of Settlement.

Now, are these Russian cruelties against the Jews to continue forever? Is there no remedy? Wholesale emigration has been suggested. It is impossible for all of them to emigrate. There is no people and no land that could cope with such a gigantic problem as that of housing and caring for five millions of people until able to take care of themselves.

“There is but one remedy,” suggests another, “and that is conversion to the Russian Orthodox Christian Church.” The Russian Jew has demonstrated during the hundreds of years of his misery that he can suffer, he can die, but that he can not live a lie, that he can not accept the faith of that people who on a holy Easter morn can enter a church to worship the Prince of Peace, who gave up His life for the sake of peace and good will toward men, and then hasten forth from their sanctuary into the quarters where live the very brethren of Him they have just worshiped, and commit fiendish outrages among them, massacring and butchering men and women, sparing neither the gray-haired nor the infants at their mothers’ breasts.

Our distinguished fellow citizen, the Hon. Andrew D. White, who was Minister to Russia at the time of my visit to St. Petersburg, told me an interesting story that well bears repetition here. It is the custom for Russians to assemble in the streets to greet the Easter dawn with the exclamation “Christ is risen!” and to greet and embrace one another with the same salutation. On one of

these mornings the Czar, upon returning to his palace, addressed the sentinel at the entrance with the Easter greeting, "Christ is risen!" Not receiving an answer, the Czar repeated his salutation, upon which the sentinel replied, "Your Majesty, the Messiah has not yet risen!" He was a Jewish soldier. The Czar paused a moment as if about to say something, but held his peace and passed into his palace meditatively. He had recognized the truth of the Jewish soldier's answer—the Messiah had not yet come, the Christ had not yet risen.

When the Christian shall have learned to practise the religion he professes, when he shall love his neighbor as himself, and do to others as he would have others do unto him; when he will give glory to God in the highest by spreading peace and good will among men, then will the Christ have risen, then will the Messiah have come.

**Speech of the Hon. JOSEPH E. NOWREY, Mayor of Camden, Pa.**

I esteem it one of the greatest privileges that I have ever enjoyed to represent the people of Camden, two hundred of whom are present with me, in joining with this municipality to extend our sympathy to the victims of the horrible massacre at Kishinef, and to utter a protest in order that such a tragedy may never occur again.

We have been admonished by the speakers to be cautious in what we have to say, to voice our protests in a mild manner. This is not my idea of protest. I believe that such protests should be made with vigor and in no uncertain tone. A feeble protest to the Czar of Russia will result in but little benefit. A feeble protest is no protest whatever.

This great crime has been committed in the name of Christianity, and it rests with the Christianity of our own beloved country, even tho it would not for an instant encourage such outrages, to exert every honorable means and to use every influence we have at command to induce our government to send such a message to the Czar of all the Russias that we may never again have a recurrence of the unholy massacres.

We desire, as citizens of a municipality numbering about 80,000 souls, to express to the Czar of Russia the horror we feel at this outrage.

It is our wish that our sympathy be expressed to the relatives and friends of the victims of Kishinef.

#### **Speech of Judge MAYER SULZBERGER**

"I appeal for assistance for the thousands of orphans of massacred parents." To these words of Michael Davitt, journalist and statesman, cabled to a great American journal from the scene of carnage, I can add nothing.

But there is something to be done. The dead are buried, the maimed are suffering, the ruined are broken in spirit, the orphans are orphans. Mischief accomplished is remediless, but the causes which produced it may be modified or removed so as to prevent further mischief.

We are met to-night to summon Russia before the bar of civilization. Colossal in territory and in brute force, she can refuse to appear, and if she so refuses, no direct coercion or punishment is possible. She may choose to stand entrenched in might and wrong.

Should that be her attitude, petitions will avail no more than threats, abject servility than boastful hectoring.

There are, however, two Russias—the Russia of officialism and the Russia of conscience—the one represented by the assassins of Kishinef and their spokesmen, and the other by Tolstoy and Gorky. The former has power and wealth, the latter right and justice on its side. The former may repress and persecute, the latter can but suffer and protest. This cry of suffering and of protest we, in common with the whole civilized world, may take up and carry further until it shall become one universal shout of civilization, the shout that forebodes doom to darkness and to crime.

What more can I say? Words are needed rather to soothe than to harrow feelings, to counsel calmness rather than increase excitement.

As regards the Czar of Russia, if his manifestoes in favor of peace and toleration have but a spark of honorable intent, if they be not mere devices of barbarian insincerity, he can roll from off his country the burden of shame which oppresses it. The wretched criminals of Kishinef may well plead that they have been trained by the highest example. A governmental policy which drives people from the places where they were born or have been long established, into strange places overfilled with strugglers, where they must first beg and then starve, is as cruel as Kishinef and more wicked, because more deliberate in conception and more colossal in results. Compared to the mortality thus produced, the Kishinef massacre is insignificant.

And yet this is the policy which the head of the Rus-

sian State and the head of the Russian Church have for many years allowed to be carried out. What is it possible to expect from wretched criminals when the teachings of such acts are always before them?

And not only its own Jewish subjects has Russia maltreated, but it has refused to permit the Jewish subjects and citizens of other powers to enjoy the right of travel and sojourn which passports assure among all civilized peoples, and in so doing it has forced its barbarous, medieval notions on the Western world.

The passport of the United States of America is not good in Russia unless its owner has, before entering that country, declared his religious faith to a Russian official, and if that faith happens to be the Jewish, the passport is worthless in whole or in part. To reach the Jew, she puts Catholics, Protestants, and all others to the question.

That civilized government should retaliate by non-intercourse or by war no one will contend. But we may protest and again protest in favor of human rights as understood by the modern world.

Moreover, we may show resentment at this interference by Russia in our internal affairs, and energetically repudiate her right to interpret or to mutilate the passport stamped with the Great Seal of the United States of America.

Let, then, the message of this meeting go forth in unison with all the voices of civilization. It may be met with insult and contumely, as such messages have been met before. On the other hand, it may somehow and somewhere in Russia touch a responsive chord.

There is a great heart within great Russians, and let us pray that there may be at least a little heart in

powerful rulers. Whatever be the immediate result, the hope for humanity and justice must not falter. Against the blood-curdling cruelty of barbarism we invoke the enlightened conscience of civilization. From the wickedness of earthly rulers we reverently appeal to the justice of God who holdeth nations in the hollow of His hand, who heareth the cry of the lowly and taketh note of the oppressor's deeds, who lifteth up principalities and powers and casteth them down.

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#### **IV.—The Mass-Meeting in New Orleans, Louisiana**

*(Held June 13, 1903, in the Crescent Theater)*

##### **Introductory Address by Mayor PAUL CAPDEVIELLE**

The people of this city never fail to come forward on the side of right and justice, and upon this occasion they seek the opportunity to express their sympathy with the abused and stricken Jews of Russia, and to endeavor to find some way in which to put a stop to this barbarity.

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##### **LETTERS READ BY SECRETARY HENRY M. MAYO**

##### **Letter of the Rt. Rev. Archbishop PLACIDE LOUIS CHAPELLE**

Being almost on the eve of my departure to Cuba, many pressing engagements will not permit me, much to my regret, to express *viva voce* my sorrow and indignation at these outrages. I have already done so by the way of the press a few days ago.

**Letter of the Rt. Rev. Bishop DAVIS SESSUMS**

Surely the terrible savagery and cruelties which have been there enacted, if the accounts be correct, must fill the civilized and Christian world with horror, and the profoundest sympathy must be universally felt for the sufferers, and the utmost condemnation must be universally passed upon their oppressors.

That in this age in any one of the so-called Christian countries any part of the population should be so ignorant and superstitious and savage as to be guilty of persecution of any sort, and especially of religious persecution, and for them to think that they deserve the name of Christians when they are engaged in such persecutions, is too frightful for contemplation.

**Letter of the Rev. Dr. BEVERLY E. WARNER**

If one doubts the usefulness of these meetings, let him look to the semi-apologies which the Russian government is even now issuing to the world. Let him see the tenor of the notes which her Minister and ambassadors are sending to other governments. The government, even of the Russias, realizes that in this day and age one nation can not do those things which are an abomination in the sight of civilization. The outburst of indignation which has flamed from all lands upon the news of the Kishinef horror, has beaten it even into the consciousness of the Russian that there is danger in flying in the face of all the Christian and enlightened world.

The story of the massacre is the old, old story. The badge of suffering which the Jew has carried through the ages was in this massacre shown once more to all



nations. Through the ages since the hills of Palestine were stripped of their old-time owners the Jews have wandered, oppressed and stricken by the brutality and hatred of the world. Time after time, during the passing centuries, they have been visited with the most awful manifestations of concentrated ill will, engendered by ignorance and bigotry. Bloodshed and persecution beyond the power of tongue to depict has been their share of fortune. The lot of the downtrodden and the hated has been theirs.

At Kishinef the oppression of the ages found expression as fully and as cruel as ever before. Women and children were torn from their homes; men and women were brutally cut down upon their thresholds, slaughtered in the streets. The fury of an ignorant populace vented itself in all the ways that savagery and racial prejudice could dictate. Every detail of barbarity and loathsome ferocity sought expression upon the defenseless Jews of Kishinef.

Therefore, we lift our voices in protest. Good will result. There is no nation uninfluenced either by the contempt or by the praise of others. No nation, even as no man, can afford to do those things which bring it to discredit and disgrace in the eyes of all equals.

Russia desires to be regarded as civilized, but she knows that the truly civilized nations look upon her with contempt. Two things she can do to undo the evil she has wrought to her standing in the congress of the nations :

First, she can force the ecclesiastics of the empire to deny authoritatively the truth of the awful and shameless story of the ritual of blood which has been cast

against the Jews since pagan days. No man believes that story to-day, no man in all the civilized world believes it was ever true of the Jews. It is an old lie, used once against the Christians themselves. Whenever the story comes of massacres in Russia, or in the smaller kindred states where they kill kings and queens as we kill flies, where there is no regard for life, and where the brutality and the cruelty of the people find expression in deeds that bring the blush of shame and horror to all the world—then we may know that it is due to this old falsehood, which dates back to the first feast of the Passover.

Second, the Russians can make Russians of the Jews, make them citizens of the land. Here in New Orleans the Jews are citizens, good citizens, and do their part of the work and bear their share of the burdens, thus earning the right to enjoy the blessings and partake of the pleasures. When Russia repeals the three hundred pages of restrictive law which she has enacted to hedge about the Jews, then she may expect the Jews to become loyal and loving citizens. Then, and only then, can she expect the mass of ignorant peasants, egged on to hate the Jews by the anti-Semitic press, and taught by the ecclesiastics to believe the Jew but a clod, to refrain from breaking the clod when it suits his convenience.

And now comes the question : By what right do we interfere ? I know not what has impelled the others who have spoken against this disgrace to the age ; but we speak and interfere in behalf of the right of eminent domain ; for that ideal of brotherhood of man for which we stand, for the right of the strong to protect the weak. For this we interfere and raise our voices in protest.

Were ten thousand Germans dead in a foreign land,

the young "War Lord" would have more than a note in protest. Were ten thousand Englishmen beaten and branded in another land, John Bull would send more than a word of regret.

Were ten thousand Americans the victims of such an outrage, Brother Jonathan would raise his hand, and it would be the sign for all our people to rally, join together, and wipe out the doers of the crime.

The Jew has no nation. He assembles his wise men in no great capital. He marches his armies under no flag. Therefore, we will lift for him the standard of the Stars and Stripes. We lift for him our voices, and they must be heard. Because the Jew is without these things, we raise, not the arm of right, but the voice of might, we send it across the ocean and the land, postmarked "Washington, D.C."

We must remember that the men who rule the destinies of Russia in Church and in State are elevated high above the masses, and are intelligent, educated, and cultured. As such, they must respond to intelligent, educated, and cultivated opinion. They do not wish the name of Russia to be a byword and a hissing among the nations of the earth, nor the slow-moving finger of scorn to be pointed at her. They love their country and her good name as we love ours.

Upon these men, therefore, must fall the accumulated effect of the indignant protests that roll in upon their ears from every quarter of the globe. The united voice of mankind charges them with blood-guiltiness. They can not conceal the terrible facts. They can not escape the damning accusation. In their hands is lodged autocratic power. They have the means to prevent the re-

currence of those scenes, the meager narration of which has frozen the hearts of untold millions with horror.

Let them know that the world holds them, and not an ignorant rabble, responsible for such crimes; and that if such a rabble believes the absurd tales of ritual murders which have been told against Jews since pagan times—a pagan, I am glad to say, and not a Christian invention—it is a result of that rabble's religious leaders and teachers who know the lie, and who have never taken the trouble to denounce it as such.

Let them know that the world is convinced that the Czar, the most powerful ruler on earth, with his army, his police, and his spies, holding in the hollow of his hand the whole organization of the State, and with the power of life and death over his subjects, can, if he will, protect a gentle, an industrious, a peaceful, and a harmless race from pillage, ravishment, and slaughter.

Therefore, my fellow citizens, who are assembled here without reference to race or creed, Jew and Gentile, Protestant and Catholic, freemen all, who own no master except God the Father, whom we all worship, speak out the promptings of your hearts and swell with your voices the cry of outraged humanity that is ringing around the earth in protest against a so-called Christian government that persecutes and denies protection to its own children.

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**Speech of E. A. ALDERMAN, President of Tulane University**

We are here to-night as men and women, who have inherited the freedom to make the most of ourselves, to protest against such brutality and tyranny, and to say in dignity and earnestness that these wrongs should be

righted and that steps should be taken to prevent the recurrence of savagery and murder. We are here to give expression to our opinion and to contribute a volume of public opinion.

I have been asked two questions since the purpose of this meeting became known. The first question was this : What right have we to make such a protest ? It is none of our business, it is Russia's business. The supreme, civic virtue in this world is to mind your own business. Would it not be better for us to extract the beam out of our own eye, and stop our lynchings and burnings before we set up as an international reformer ? The second question was this : What good will it all do anyhow, save as an exhibition of more or less fluent speech and fervid rhetoric ? It is well to have these questions asked, for there is nothing so absurd as useless speech, and there is no such pestilential nuisance as your chronic reformer, especially one whose tendency is to reform the distant thing. My belief, upon reflection, is that both of these questions have no good, enduring basis, however sensible they may sound. We have a right to protest because civilization is a greater thing than national lines, because humanity is a greater thing than dynasties. If civilization means anything, it means brotherhood and interest. Everything that has happened in the last one hundred years has made the structure of society more and more sympathetic—the newspapers, the telegraph wires, the transportation lines, the inventions have brought men closer together, and made other people's business the business of the world. Distance can no longer dull the imagination, for there is no distance. Time can no longer ameliorate cruelties, for

there is no time. The world is before us each morning, and the essential idea and the deepest meaning of civilization is sympathy and brotherhood. We have actually seen these horrors in Kishinef, we have actually suffered with these pale-faced Jews, and to deny us this right of protest is to deny the progress of civilization. If it be said that, if Russia protested against our lynchings and internal life, we would angrily resent it, the answer is, perhaps we would, but Russia would be right to protest, and we would have to lump it. And if all the world protested whenever injustice occurred anywhere, public opinion would become the majestic force that it was intended to become in democracies everywhere.

The good that we can do, therefore, is simply one little drop in the river of public sentiment; one little momentum in the great wind of public opinion that ought to sweep about the earth wherever ignorance seeks to rule the wise or tyranny to crush the weak.

I do not wish to be merely rhetorical or impassionate. I do not pretend to know all of the difficulties and perplexities of Russian internal life. I am not here to curry favor with any set of men by denouncing blindly another set of men. What I see at the heart of this matter is this: I see the play of three great evil forces upon a disadvantaged race, whose tragedies touch the heart of the world. I see race hatred, the scorn of one breed of men for another, an ancient, persistent, savage survival. I see religious fanaticism—the blind feeling that one group of people has possession of all the truth about the infinite hereafter. I see the policy of restriction of privilege to men instead of the policy of opportunity for citizenship and growth. These three impulses I believe to be, and

deliberately declare to be, the most damnable, dangerous, and destructive forces that ever appeared in human society. If the pages of history, which record the cruelties and the trouble caused by them, were torn from the book, universal history would be shorn of much of its stupid crime and suffering.

Thomas Jefferson declared that he "had sworn eternal hatred against every form of tyranny against the mind and soul of man," and he nobly lived up to that oath. That impulse is woven into my soul, too, and I am here to-night to protest against the exercise of these passions, and I would protest, whether they occurred in Russia or in France or in America, or whether in my own home, or whether ten thousand leagues across the sea, or whether they were directed against the brown man, the yellow man, the black man, the Jew, or the Gentile.

I have nothing to say against the Czar or the Russian Ministry; they are doubtless kind and gentle people—in their families and to their friends. The central fact is this: Russia has two mighty passions—conscious and unconscious—the Russification of its 130,000,000 of people, and the constant extension of its territory, and whatever stands in the way of those two things must take the consequences. In order to develop the moujik, the Russian feels it necessary to oppress the Jew. To me it is stupid policy. The Jew has ten times the gifts of the moujik, and *with freedom and opportunity he would become a great Russian citizen, as he has become a great American citizen.* And the public opinion of America ought to say to Russia *that under its policy there is no better class of American citizenship than the loyal, patriotic, productive, public-spirited American Jew.* Practically the Russian will

not do this. It is asking him to change his entire governmental policy. It is asking him to change the structure of his mind. It is asking him to be an American and not a Russian. He wants to see the Russian peasant become an efficient man. The Jew outwits and dwarfs this man. Therefore, the Russian oppresses the Jew, and debases the peasant by giving him the opportunity to become a tyrant. If he would consent to educate the peasant and give opportunity to all, then the Russian would grow great indeed.

The public opinion of the world can only hope, therefore, to prevent savage cruelty to the Jew within the Pale, and *the Jews of the world, better advantaged, should see to it that their fellow countrymen leave the Pale and come to a land like this, where democracy declares that every man has a right to make the best of himself and to enjoy the fruits of his labor. I do not fear Russian Jews as an element in our population. I believe that under the American policy of opportunity they will develop, as I have seen them develop, into useful and forceful citizens.* I know no such other tragedy in the world as the tragedy of the Jews. I once stood upon the hill of Zion in Jerusalem and looked out over that mountain city, now invested with the pathos of the centuries and wrapped in the very tears of things. I saw its gray desolation, its great misery, its solemn sadness, and realized that the Jew had been a highlander, a mountain agriculturist, a fierce lover of his home. I saw him scattered about the world. I saw him preyed upon by all the fierce passions of men. I saw him shut up in ghettos for centuries, and then accused of clannishness. I saw him deprived of land, and then blamed because he was not an agriculturist. I saw him robbed of



his earnings by tyrants, and, because he grew unscrupulous and developed uncanny power to get more earnings, accused of cupidity and greed. I have seen his vices grow as the result of his oppressions, and yet I have seen him hold on to his ancient faith, to his national pride, to the dignity of his home, to virtues of sobriety and thrift, with a patience and public spirit, an endurance and a courage and a steadiness that make the Swiss, or the Dutch, or the Pole look trifling, indeed. I have seen him grow eminent in every field of life, ruling great nations, preeminent in every art, unweakened in vitality, either intellectual or physical or racial—one of the great forces to be reckoned with in the civilization of the world.

We are Hebraic in our consciences, in the ethical content of our minds, in our notions of heaven and hell, and of right and wrong, and, so far as I am concerned, whenever the Jew is oppressed, I feel that oppression as if it were the oppression of a brother; and whenever that great historic race is belittled or disadvantaged, I would resent it as I would resent an injury to a brother.

This democracy of ours, so strong and triumphant, must protest, therefore, against such deeds as the deed of Kishinef and the cause for it. It is the protest of the modern against the medieval, of the democratic against the autocratic, of light against darkness, of opportunity against privilege; and democracy has no choice but to take its stand and to speak its word. *Hence, I am here as a democrat and a man and an American to protest against this medievalism and to welcome those people to our shores.*

## RESOLUTIONS

*Whereas*, We, the people of the City of New Orleans in the State of Louisiana in the United States of America, have, in common with all Americans, read with a sense of indignation the reports of the awful tragedy at Kishinef, a town in the province of Bessarabia, in the Russian Empire; and

*Whereas*, Our sense of justice and of humanity has been inexpressibly shocked by the brutal and bloody persecution of innocent men, women, and children of the Hebrew race resident in that city; and

*Whereas*, We believe that this deliberate murder of Jewish men and this wanton violation of Jewish women is a crime against both human and Divine law; therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That we, the people of the City of New Orleans, in mass-meeting assembled, do hereby record our emphatic protest against this inhuman and barbarous persecution of Jews in the Russian Empire; and be it further

*Resolved*, That recognizing the ties of human kinship that bind us to all the peoples of the earth, we do hereby express our profound and abiding sympathy with those members of "the scattered nation" who have been the innocent victims of the Kishinef atrocities; and be it finally

*Resolved*, That we do hereby solemnly invoke his Imperial Majesty, Nicholas II., the Czar of all the Russias, to adopt measures that will safeguard all his people from religious persecution, and will vouchsafe to them, irrespective of nationality, race, or creed, "the blessings of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

## III

**THE INDEPENDENT ORDER OF  
B'NAI B'RITH****Detailed History of the Kishinef Petition**

The President of the I. O. B. B., immediately after the news of the Kishinef massacre had reached the United States, made an investigation as to the measures of relief to be depended on in Europe, and from the most reliable sources he learned that the Jews of Europe would attend to the immediate emergency, so far as supplies were concerned, and that it was best that the Jews in America should devote themselves to a consideration of the burden that would fall upon them in consequence of increased immigration.

“Primary importance was then attached to the power of public opinion, and it was deemed highly desirable that this public opinion should find expression in such manner and form and under such agencies as would make it felt in the remotest corner of the earth; but experience having taught that the voice of the Jews, as such, would have but little weight in Russia, and that the words of any speaker at a Jewish public meeting in America would be laid at the doors of the Russian Jews, it was felt that it would be hazardous to hold meetings of a distinctively Jewish character. Therefore, exclusively Jewish meetings were discouraged, and the wiser policy pursued of leaving to Americans who are non-Jews the task and the duty of expressing the views of the American people.

“In the main, meetings of that character, of which numerous were held, have been marked by the conservatism of the speakers and of the resolutions adopted; and if here and there an orator indulged in language at which the Russian people

and the Russian government might take offense, the resentment excited in Russia will not extend to the Jews in Russia or elsewhere, but will be directed, doubtless, to the speaker himself" (Rep. Exec. Com. I. O. B. B., 1902-03, p. 56).

Governed by the views thus set forth, the President of the I. O. B. B., within a few days after the Kishinef massacre, asked the Hon. Simon Wolf, of Washington, to request the Secretary of State to obtain a reliable account of the calamity, and to ascertain what relief was required, and whether the same could be rendered without offense to the Russian government. Thereupon Mr. Wolf wrote the following letter to the Secretary of State:

WASHINGTON, *April 29, 1903.*

*Hon. John Hay, Washington, D. C.*

SIR: You have no doubt been made aware of the fact that the cable has brought news of terrible outrages and massacres practised upon the Jews of Kishinef in Russia. These reports by cable have been supplemented by private cablegrams, which not only confirm but augment the terrible outrages and murders perpetrated upon the unhappy citizens of Kishinef of Jewish faith. As many of these people have relatives in this country who are citizens of the United States, they naturally feel anxious about the condition of things, and also how far they can aid in sending supplies and money to the wounded and unwounded sufferers. To that end, as Chairman of the Board of Delegates of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, and as a member of the Executive Committee of the Order of B'nai B'rith, I would like the government of the United States to instruct our ambassador to Russia by cable to secure at once prompt and reliable information as to these outrages and the condition of the unfortunate victims of cruel persecution,

and how far the Russian government will permit us to send supplies and aid financially those who are in distress.

I am sure in asking this I am not overstepping the boundaries of the courtesies that should exist between the two countries, and am absolutely sure that the Department of State in this instance, as in many other like instances, will cheerfully and readily cooperate, to the end that facts may be known officially and the remedy applied so far as lies within the power of our government, and so far as permission will be given to the citizens of the United States.

Very respectfully yours,

SIMON WOLF.

On May 5th Mr. Wolf wrote to the State Department to inquire if any reply had been received to the cable which the Secretary of State had sent at his request. In reply the following letter was received:

DEAR MR. WOLF: I am in receipt of your letter of this date in reference to the reported massacre of Jews in Russia. The department acted immediately concerning this matter on your suggestion, and sent a cable to our Ambassador at St. Petersburg, directing him to make an investigation to ascertain whether supplies would be received, and to report as soon as possible. Up to this time we have not heard from him, but presume he is giving this matter his best attention. I will keep you advised on the subject.

Very respectfully yours,

FRANCIS B. LOOMIS,

*Assistant Secretary.*

On May 9th the following letter was received from the State Department:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,  
Office of the Assistant Secretary,  
WASHINGTON, *May 9, 1903.*

*Hon. Simon Wolf, Washington, D. C.*

SIR: Referring to your letter of April 29th, I have the honor to confirm my conversation with you by telephone, in one of which I stated that a cablegram had been sent to our ambassador at St. Petersburg, directing him to ascertain if supplies for the benefit of Jews stated to be suffering in Kishinef would be received, if forwarded from this country, for the relief of the sufferers.

The department is just in receipt of the following cablegram from Ambassador McCormick at St. Petersburg:

“It is authoritatively denied that there is any want or suffering among Jews in southwestern Russia, and aid of any kind is unnecessary. While the offer and spirit in which it is made are appreciated, it is gratefully declined.”

Respectfully yours,

FRANCIS B. LOOMIS,  
*Assistant Secretary.*

Three of the American districts of the I. O. B. B. were scheduled to hold conventions on May 17th, and, for the guidance of these conventions, and by way of reply to numerous inquiries from all parts of the country, Mr. Leo N. Levi,

President of the Executive Committee of the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith, issued the following message:

*To the Members of the Executive Committee and the Presidents of the American District Grand Lodges of the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith.*

BRETHREN: The recent massacre of Jews at Kishinef has aroused great excitement, and, as usual, when excitement prevails, errors of lasting influence are likely to be committed. To the end that the B'nai B'rith—the great, world-wide, permanent representative Jewish organization—may not be hereafter embarrassed or crippled in its usefulness by mistakes in this crisis, I beg through you to lay before the subordinate lodges the following facts and considerations:

When the massacre was first reported, the Executive Committee, through one of its members, Hon. Simon Wolf, applied to our government for an official report of the reported event, containing a list of victims, a statement of the relief required and the manner in which it could be afforded without giving offense to Russia. The Secretary of State cabled for such a report, and under date of May 9, 1903, furnished a copy of the cablegram received from Ambassador McCormick at St. Petersburg. It is as follows:

“It is authoritatively denied that there is any want or suffering among Jews in southwestern Russia, and aid of any kind is unnecessary. While the offer and spirit in which it is made are appreciated, it is gratefully declined.”

It will be observed that, contrary to the newspaper reports, the Russian government does not deny the out-

rages perpetrated. It is further to be remembered that there has been published an official report of the massacre by the Russian authorities, according to which it was of the most serious nature. Moreover, we must not overlook the orders of the Czar to his officers to suppress and punish any outbreaks against the Jews.

It may be that the government at St. Petersburg has been misinformed as to the events and situation in Bessarabia ; but after making all allowances for the Russian view of her Jewish subjects, we must not conclude that the government itself is in sympathy with disorder, rioting, pillage, and murder simply because the victims are Jews. It is neither fair nor wise to execrate the government of Russia because of the murderous brutality of a frenzied mob. Russia is powerful enough to treat with disdain any criticisms that are directed against her. She is not likely to treat with consideration any appeal for justice when it is coupled with denunciations.

The situation demands permanent as well as immediate relief. Let us be careful not to render the latter impossible.

If the Russian authorities at St. Petersburg are misinformed, the immediate relief required by the sufferers will be supplied from funds already provided and now being raised by other organizations, communities, and individuals. Each member of the Order as an individual will determine for himself whether and how much to contribute in that direction.

The certain result of the unsettled state of affairs in southwestern Russia will be increased immigration of Jews to the United States. To aid them to independence along lines now recognized as thoroughly practical will



be the task of the Order so long as that immigration continues. It will probably be for years. The lodges should gravely consider this aspect of the problem, and in addition to strengthening the hands of the Executive Committee by giving it moral support, they should raise money to be used locally for the relief of refugees who may come or be sent to their respective localities.

All of the Jews in Russia, however, can not or will not emigrate. Their status there will always present a grave problem. Their fate will depend finally upon the ruler of the Russian Empire. To his sense of justice and to the humane spirit which he has so often manifested the Jews must look for protection, when ignorance, prejudice, and lawlessness assail them.

In the prevailing excitement let us preserve our calm, keeping in mind the future as well as the present. Let us do nothing and say nothing that will cut us off from the right to make a dignified and manly appeal in the name of humanity to the dignity and manhood of the Czar. When the Executive Committee of the Order convenes this summer such an appeal will be considered together with plans for having it indorsed by the general public and properly presented.

Fraternally yours,

LEO N. LEVI, *President.*

Upon the suggestion of Simon Wolf and through him arrangements were made for a conference between the Executive Committee of the I. O. B. B. and the President of the United States and the Secretary of State on the 15th day of June, 1903.

The committee called in a body at the State Department,

and were cordially received by Hon. John Hay, Secretary of State. The President of the committee, Leo N. Levi, acting as its spokesman, addressed the Secretary of State, and as part of his remarks submitted a memorandum of the Executive Committee of the I. O. B. B. to Secretary Hay, and the tentative draft of the petition which had been considered and approved by the Executive Committee on the day previous.

The Secretary of State made first an official reply, after which he engaged in an informal but earnest discussion of the subject with the president of the committee. The conference lasted for forty minutes, at the end of which time the members of the committee, escorted by the Secretary of State, repaired to the White House, where the President of the United States was awaiting them.

The President carefully examined the tentative draft of the petition, making comments as he read. When he had finished reading, he thanked the committee for the wisdom and conservatism displayed by it and for the opportunity which had been offered to him to express his views on the Kishinef outrage, without being guilty of any impropriety in doing so.

**Memorandum of the Executive Committee of the I. O. B. B.  
to Secretary HAY**

Assuming the facts as officially reported by the Russian government, including measures adopted after the massacre, and discarding all accounts in conflict therewith, the incident has appalled and horrified not only the Jews in Russia and elsewhere, but the whole American people.

Up to the present time the American people have not been satisfied that the Jews in Russia are safe from new outrages hereafter.

The Jews, as Jews, in Russia and elsewhere are likewise fearful of the future.

This fear among the Jews of Russia stimulates emigration to the United States, and hence it is widely claimed that the United States should officially protest to Russia, as it did recently to Rumania. The precedent is invoked and the government charged with timidity in this case because Russia is a great Power, while Rumania is weak.

The distinction between this and the Rumanian situation is, however, plain. The Jews who come from Kishinef to the United States flee from mobs operating in contravention of Russian law, while the Jews who come from Rumania are unable to live there because of the Rumanian laws.

It is true that the Russian laws operate to drive the Jews out of Russia and into the United States, just as do the Rumanian laws, but a protest based on that fact may not be timely in connection with the Kishinef incident. It may be wiser to defer it to a more suitable time. Moreover, there may be diplomatic reasons why the Rumanian precedent should not be followed just now.

But the American people are irritated, excited, and impatient. They want something done. If nothing is done their hostility to Russia will be intensified and fixed. Ultimately those feelings will obtain expression in governmental action, and the gap between Russia and the United States widened.

Russian diplomatists, with or without assistance from Americans, can not placate the American public by denouncing the Jews. Efforts in that direction have been boomerangs. Moreover, Russia is constantly adding to the citizenship of this country an element which testifies against her. We have now, scattered throughout this

country, about half a million Jews who have come from Russia during the past twenty-three years. They are thrifty, energetic, intelligent, ambitious, and daily growing more influential and popular. Their number is increasing by immigration at the rate of not less than twenty-five thousand per annum.

The French, German, or English Jew who comes to the United States makes for friendly relations between his native and his adopted country because he loves both, but the Russian Jew makes propaganda here against his native land. The traditional amity between Russia and the United States is thus being undermined by Russia's policy toward her Jewish subjects. The situation makes it highly desirable, without breach of diplomatic etiquette and without embarrassing our own government, to satisfy the demands of the American people that something effective be done, so far as practicable, by or with the concurrence of our government, to allay the fears of the Jews in Russia and thus stem their rush to this country, to convert the hostility to Russia on the part of American citizens, Jews and Gentiles, into friendliness, and thus insure the traditional amity.

One or both of two methods are suggested for consideration, viz.:

1. A petition to the Czar, to which the B'nai B'rith will get the signatures of the leading men in the various states, our government to assist unofficially or semi-officially in securing the delivery of this petition to the Czar and in procuring a favorable reply thereto, either by a direct communication or some other form of public expression. The manner in which the government can render such assistance is not suggested for obvious

reasons, but the government's interest in the plan should be made known.

2. Using the Kishinef and other recent incidents of more or less similar nature as grounds, an official invitation by the United States should be addressed to all the Powers to an international conference, to consider persecutions and oppressions growing out of racial and religious prejudices and hatred, and to protect civilization and international concord from the evil effects of such persecutions and oppressions.

LEO N. LEVI,  
JULIUS BIEN,  
JACOB FUERTH,  
SOLOMON SULZBERGER,  
JOSEPH D. COONS,  
SIMON WOLF,  
ADOLPH MOSES.

*June 15, 1903.*

**TEXT OF THE TENTATIVE DRAFT OF THE PETITION  
OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE TO THE  
CZAR OF RUSSIA**

*To His Imperial Majesty, the Czar :*

The cruel outrages perpetrated at Kishinef during Easter of 1903 have excited horror and reprobation throughout the world. Until your Majesty gave special and personal directions, the local authorities failed to maintain order or to suppress the rioting.

The victims were Jews, and the assault was the result of race and religious prejudice. The rioters violated the laws of Russia. The local officers were derelict in the

performance of their duty. The Jews were the victims of indefensible lawlessness.

These facts are made plain by the official reports of and by the official acts following the riot.

Under ordinary conditions, the awful calamity would be deplored without undue fear of a recurrence. But such is not the case in the present instance. Your petitioners are advised that millions of Jews—Russian subjects—dwelling in southwestern Russia are in constant dread of fresh outbreaks. They feel that ignorance, superstition, and bigotry, as exemplified by the rioters, are ever ready to persecute them; that the local officials, unless thereunto specially admonished, can not be relied on as strenuous protectors of their peace and security; that a public sentiment of hostility has been engendered against them, and hangs over them as a continuing menace.

Even if it be conceded that these fears are to some extent exaggerated, it is unquestionably true that they exist, that they are not groundless, and that they produce effects of great importance.

The westward migration of Russian Jews, which has proceeded for over twenty years, is being stimulated by those fears, and already that movement has become so great as to overshadow in magnitude the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, and to rank with the exodus from Egypt.

No estimate is possible of the misery suffered by the helpless Jews who feel driven to forsake their native land, to sever the most sacred ties, and to wander forth to strange countries.

Neither is it possible to estimate the misery suffered

by those who are unwilling or unable to leave the land of their birth; who must part from friends and relatives who emigrate; who remain in never-ending terror.

Religious persecution is more sinful and more fatuous even than war. War is sometimes necessary, honorable, and just; religious persecution is never defensible.

The sinfulness and folly which give impulse to unnecessary war received their greatest check when your Majesty's initiative resulted in an international court of peace.

With such an example before it, the civilized world cherishes the hope that upon the same initiative there shall be fixed in the early days of the twentieth century the enduring principle of religious liberty; that by a gracious and convincing expression your Majesty will proclaim, not only for the direction of your own subjects, but also for the guidance of all civilized men, that none shall suffer in person, property, liberty, honor, or life because of his religious belief; that the humblest subject or citizen may worship according to the dictates of his own conscience, and that the government, whatever its form or agencies, must safeguard these rights and immunities by the exercise of all its powers.

Far removed from your Majesty's dominions, living under different conditions, and owing allegiance to another government, your petitioners yet venture in the name of civilization to plead for religious liberty and tolerance; to plead that he who led his own people and all others to the shrine of peace will add new luster to his reign and fame by leading a new movement that shall commit the whole world in opposition to religious persecution.

**Speech of the Hon. Secretary of State, JOHN HAY**

GENTLEMEN: No person of ordinary humanity can have heard without deep emotion the story of the cruel outrages inflicted upon the Jews of Kishinef. These lamentable events have caused the profoundest impression throughout the world, but most especially in this country, where there are so many of your coreligionists who form such a desirable element of our population in industry, thrift, public spirit, and commercial morality. Nobody can ever make the Americans think ill of the Jews as a class or as a race—we know them too well. In the painful crisis through which we are now passing the Jews of the United States have given evidence of the highest qualities—generosity, love of justice, and power of self-restraint.

The government of the United States must exhibit the same qualities. I know you do not doubt the sentiments of the President. No one hates more energetically than he does such acts of cruelty and injustice as those we deplore. But he must carefully consider all the circumstances, and then decide whether any official action can be taken in addition to the impressive and most effective expression of public opinion in this country during the last month.

You will have observed that no civilized government in the world has yet taken official action; this consideration alone would bid us to proceed with care. The Emperor of Russia is entitled to our respect, not merely as the ruler of a great and friendly nation, but as a man whose personal character is even more elevated than his exalted station.

We should not be justified in assuming that this en-



lightened sovereign, who has given so many proofs of his devotion to peace and religious toleration, has not done and is not doing all that lies in his power to put a stop to these atrocities, to punish the guilty, whether they belong to the ignorant populace or to high official circles, and to prevent the recurrence of the outrages which have so shocked humanity.

In fact, all we know of the state of things in Russia tends to justify the hope that even out of the present terrible situation some good results may come; that He who watches over Israel does not slumber, and the wrath of man now, as so often in the past, shall be made to praise Him.

#### **Speech of the President of the United States**

GENTLEMEN: I need not dwell upon the fact so patent as the widespread indignation with which the American people heard of the dreadful outrages upon the Jews in Kishinef. I have never in my experience in this country known of a more immediate or a deeper expression of sympathy for the victims and of horror over the appalling calamity that has occurred.

It is natural that, while the whole civilized world should express such a feeling, it should yet be most intense and most widespread in the United States; for of all the great Powers I think I may say that the United States is that country in which from the beginning of its national career most has been done in the way of acknowledging the debt due to the Jewish race and of endeavoring to do justice to those American citizens who are of Jewish ancestry and faith.

One of the most touching poems of our own great

poet, Longfellow, is that on the Jewish cemetery in Newport, and any one who goes through any of the old cemeteries of the cities which preserve the records of colonial times will see the names of many an American of Jewish race, who, in war or in peace, did his full share in the founding of this nation.

From that day to this, from the day when the Jews of Charleston, of Philadelphia, of New York supported the patriotic cause and helped in every way, not only by money, but by arms, Washington and his colleagues who were founding this republic—from that day to the present we have had no struggle, military or civil, in which there have not been citizens of Jewish faith who played an eminent part for the honor and the credit of the nation.

I remember once General Howard mentioning to me the fact that two of his brigade commanders upon whom he had placed special reliance were Jews. Among the meetings of the Grand Army which I have attended one stands out with peculiar vividness—a meeting held under the auspices of the men of the Grand Army of Jewish creed, in the Temple in Forty-fourth Street, Temple Emanu-El, to welcome the returned veterans of the Spanish-American War of Jewish faith.

When in Santiago, when I was myself in the army, one of the best colonels among the Regular regiments, who did so well on that day and who fought beside me, was a Jew. One of the commanders of the ships which in the blockade of the Cuban coast did so well was a Jew. In my own regiment I promoted five men from the ranks for valor and good conduct in battle. It happened by pure accident, for I knew nothing of the faith

of any one of them, that these included two Protestants, two Catholics, and one Jew; and, while that was a pure accident, it was not without its value as an illustration of the ethnic and religious make-up of our nation, and of the fact that if a man is a good American that is all we ask, without thinking of his creed or his birthplace.

In the same way, when I was Police Commissioner in New York, I had experience after experience of the excellent work done—an excellent work needing nerve and hardihood, excellent work of what I might call the Maccabee type—in the Police Department under me by police officers of Jewish extraction.

Let me give you one little incident with a direct bearing upon this question of persecution for race or religious reasons. You may possibly recall, I am sure certain of my New York friends will recall, that during the time I was Police Commissioner (1895) a man came from abroad—Rector Hermann Ahlwardt—to start an anti-Jewish agitation in New York, and announced his intention of holding meetings to assail the Jews.

The matter was brought to my attention. Of course, I had no power to prevent those meetings. After a good deal of thought, I detailed a Jewish sergeant and forty Jewish policemen to protect the agitator while he held his meetings; so he made his speeches denouncing the Jews protected exclusively by Jews, which I always thought was probably the very most effective answer that could possibly be made to him, and probably the best object-lesson we could give of the spirit in which we Americans manage such matters.

Now let me give you another little example of dealing with a Russian Jew, an experience that I had while

handling the Police Department, and that could have occurred, I think, nowhere else than in the United States.

There was a certain man I appointed under the following conditions: I was attracted to him by being told, on a visit to the Bowery branch of the Young Men's Christian Association, that they had a young fellow there, a Jew, who had performed a feat of great note in saving people from a burning building, and that they thought he was just the type for a policeman. I had him called up, and told him to take the examination and see if he could get there. He did, and he passed. He has not only been an excellent policeman, but at once, out of his salary, he proceeded to educate his younger brothers and sisters, and he got either two or three of his old kinsfolk over from Russia through the money he saved, and provided homes for them.

I have given you examples of men who have served under me in my administration of the Police Department in New York and in my regiment. In addition thereto some of my nearest social friends, some of those with whom I have been closest in political life, have been men of Jewish faith and extraction.

Therefore, inevitably I have felt a degree of personal sympathy and personal horror at this dreadful tragedy, as great as can exist in the minds of any of you gentlemen yourselves. Exactly as I should claim the same sympathy from any one of you for any tragedy that happened to any Christian people, so I should hold myself unworthy of my present position if I failed to feel just as deep sympathy and just as deep sorrow and just as deep horror over an outrage like this done to the Jewish people in any part of the earth. I am confident that

much good has already been done by the manifestations throughout this country, without any regard to creed whatsoever, of horror and sympathy over what has occurred.

It is gratifying to know, what we would, of course, assume, that the government of Russia shares the feelings of horror and indignation with which the American people look upon the outrages at Kishinef, and is moving vigorously not only to prevent their continuance, but to punish the perpetrators. That government takes the same view of those outrages that our own government takes of the riots and lynchings which sometimes occur in our country, but do not characterize either our government or our people.

I have been visited by the Russian Ambassador on his own initiative, and in addition to what has been said to Secretary Hay, the Russian Ambassador has notified me personally, without an inquiry upon my part, that the Governor of Kishinef has been removed; that between three and four hundred of the participants in the outrages have been arrested; and he voluntarily stated that those men would be punished to the utmost that the law would permit.

I will consider most carefully the suggestions that you have submitted to me, and whether the now existing conditions are such that any further official expression would be of advantage to the unfortunate survivors, with whom we sympathize so deeply. Nothing that has occurred recently has had my more constant thought, and nothing will have my more constant thought than this subject.

In any proper way by which beneficial action may be taken, it will be taken, to show the sincerity of the historic American position of treating each man on his merits without the least reference to his creed, his race, or his birthplace.

On June 25th LEO N. LEVI received from Secretary HAY the following letter:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,  
Washington, *June 24, 1903.*

DEAR SIR: The President has concluded to transmit to the Russian government the petition of which you presented to him a draft on the fifteenth of this month. The matter which he had to consider most seriously was whether or not such a proceeding would be to the advantage of your persecuted and outraged coreligionists in Russia. On this point he has decided to accept your opinion, and that of the numerous and intelligent groups of American citizens of the Jewish faith whom you represent. He requests that you will send him the petition in due form at your earliest convenience.

Of course, you will understand that the President can not tell you what reception your petition will meet with at the hands of the Russian government. I am, sir,

Faithfully yours,

JOHN HAY.

Immediately after receiving the foregoing letter, plans

were formulated for having the petition signed. It was printed on heavy bond paper in convenient form for binding, and each leaflet was placed in a mailing tube, along with printed directions for obtaining signatures.

After the publication of the report of the meeting with the President and Secretary HAY, the committee received many offers of assistance and cooperation. Of especial value was considered that of Hon. OSCAR S. STRAUS, ex-Minister of the United States to Turkey, who was quick to appreciate the great value and importance of the utterances made by President ROOSEVELT and Secretary HAY, and of the decision of the President to send the petition to Russia. The president of the committee promptly accepted the offer, and it is proper to say here that throughout the proceedings Mr. STRAUS's wise counsel and energetic cooperation were of inestimable value.

On July 15, 1903, the following despatch was cabled to the American Chargé d'Affaires at St. Petersburg:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

Washington, July 15, 1903.

*Riddle, St. Petersburg :*

You are instructed to ask an audience of the minister of foreign affairs and to make to him the following communication :

“ Excellency—The Secretary of State instructs me to inform you that the President has received from a large number of citizens of the United States of all religious affiliations, and occupying the highest positions in both public and private life, a respectful petition, addressed to his Majesty the Emperor, relating to the condition of the Jews in Russia, and running as follows:

“ ‘To his Imperial Majesty, the Emperor of Russia :

“ ‘The cruel outrages perpetrated at Kishinef during Easter of 1903 have excited horror and reprobation

throughout the world. Until your Majesty gave special and personal directions, the local authorities failed to maintain order or suppress the rioting.

“ ‘The victims were Jews, and the assault was the result of race and religious prejudice.

“ ‘The rioters violated the laws of Russia.

“ ‘The local officials were derelict in the performance of their duty.

“ ‘The Jews were the victims of indefensible lawlessness. These facts are made plain by the official reports of, and by the official acts following the riot.

“ ‘Under ordinary conditions, the awful calamity would be deplored without undue fear of a recurrence. But such is not the case in the present instance. Your petitioners are advised that millions of Jews—Russian subjects—dwelling in southwestern Russia are in constant dread of fresh outbreaks. They feel that ignorance, superstition, and bigotry, as exemplified by the rioters, are ever ready to persecute them; that the local officials, unless thereunto specially admonished, can not be relied on as strenuous protectors of their peace and security; that a public sentiment of hostility has been engendered against them and hangs over them as a continuing menace.

“ ‘Even if it be conceded that these fears are to some extent exaggerated, it is unquestionably true that they exist, that they are not groundless, and that they produce effects of great importance.

“ ‘The westward migration of Russian Jews, which has proceeded for over twenty years, is being stimulated by these fears, and already that movement has become so great as to overshadow in magnitude the expulsion of the



Jews from Spain and to rank with the exodus from Egypt.

“ ‘No estimate is possible of the misery suffered by the hapless Jews who feel driven to forsake their native land, to sever the most sacred ties and to wander forth to strange countries. Neither is it possible to estimate the misery suffered by those who are unwilling or unable to leave the land of their birth ; who must part from friends and relatives who emigrate ; who remain in never-ending terror.

“ ‘Religious persecution is more sinful and more fatuous even than war. War is sometimes necessary, honorable, and just ; religious persecution is never defensible.

“ ‘The sinfulness and folly which give impulse to unnecessary war received their greatest check when your Majesty’s initiative resulted in an international court of peace.

“ ‘With such an example before it, the civilized world cherishes the hope that upon the same initiative there shall be fixed in the early days of the twentieth century the enduring principle of religious liberty ; that by a gracious and convincing expression your Majesty will proclaim, not only for the government of your own subjects, but also for the guidance of all civilized men, that none shall suffer in person, property, liberty, honor, or life because of his religious belief ; that the humblest subject or citizen may worship according to the dictates of his own conscience, and that government, whatever its form or agencies, must safeguard these rights and immunities by the exercise of all its powers.

“ ‘Far removed from your Majesty’s dominions, living

under different conditions and owing allegiance to another government, your petitioners yet venture, in the name of civilization, to plead for religious liberty and tolerance; to plead that he who led his own people and all others to the shrine of peace will add new luster to his reign and fame by leading a new movement that shall commit the whole world in opposition to religious persecution.'

"I am instructed to ask whether the petition will be received by your Excellency, to be submitted to the gracious consideration of his Majesty. In that case the petition will be at once forwarded to St. Petersburg.

"I avail myself, etc."

You will report at the earliest possible moment your execution of this instruction.

HAY.

The action of the Russian government was set forth in the following letter from Secretary HAY to Mr. LEO N. LEVI:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

Washington, *July* 17, 1903.

SIR: I am directed by the President to acquaint you that this department is informed by the American Embassy in St. Petersburg that the Imperial Government of Russia has declined to receive or consider the petition in relation to the condition of the Jews in Russia, which was addressed to his Majesty, the Emperor, by a large number of citizens of the United States, and which this department, by direction of the President and at your request, undertook to transmit to its high destination.

I am, sir,

Very respectfully yours,

JOHN HAY.

To this the following reply was made :

*July 20, 1903.*

*Hon. John Hay, Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.*

SIR : I am just in receipt of your esteemed favor of July 17, 1903, wherein, by direction of the President, you acquaint me with the fact that the Imperial Government of Russia has declined to receive or consider the petition in relation to the condition of the Jews in Russia, and which your department, by direction of the President, and at the request of the Executive Committee of the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith, undertook to transmit to the Emperor of Russia.

Acknowledging receipt of your courteous note, I take occasion again, in behalf of my associates and myself, to express our deep sense of obligation to you and the President for the cordial and effective support extended to us.

It will be our pleasure, as it certainly is our duty, to avail ourselves of every opportunity to place on record our grateful appreciation of the manner in which our government has dealt with the crisis which arose from the Kishinef massacre. Such an opportunity will be afforded when the Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the B'nai B'rith will be issued, and another when the petition itself is delivered to your department, to be kept among its archives. I am, sir,

Very respectfully yours,

LEO N. LEVI,

*President I. O. B. B.*

This completed the diplomatic features of the incident.

Nothing remained except appropriately to lodge the petition in the State Department at Washington.

After the refusal of the Russian government to receive the petition, the President of the Executive Committee was requested by the Associated Press and many newspapers to make a statement of the resulting situation, in response to which he gave out the following:

**Statement of LEO N. LEVI, President of the I. O. B. B.**

The answer made by Russia to Secretary Hay's note is no surprise to me. While, of course, it was within the range of possibility that the Czar and his Ministers would be moved by considerations of humanity and expediency courteously to receive a petition from the American people, it was well understood that the probabilities were all the other way. The movement, however, has had all the good effects that were in contemplation, and even more. It has enabled the American people and the government to make an enduring record of their views on the Kishinef horror. It has brought the emphatic expression of those views home, not only to the people of Russia, but to the Russian Emperor and his Ministers. They have become acquainted with the contents of the petition, not only by seeing it in the press, but also because its full text was communicated in the note which asked if the original would be received.

The petition, being now an official document, will be preserved in the archives of the United States, and will forever testify to the lofty humanity of the people which is so splendidly represented by the signers, and of the President and his official advisers.

There, too, it will remain as a witness that the friendship of Russia for the United States was not strong enough to permit a respectful appeal for religious liberty, made by citizens of this country.

I am convinced, too, that the influence in Russia of the petition, and of the agitation which preceded it, has been powerful and good.

The number [nearly 13,000] and character of the signatures [twenty-two Governors of States, eight ex-Governors, seven United States Senators, sixteen Chief-Justices, thirty United States Congressmen, three Archbishops, seven Bishops, etc.] to the petition stamp it as a convincing expression of the religious tolerance and sympathy of the American people. It is doubtful if there has ever been in this country such a representative written expression of opinion. The people, without regard to racial, religious, or political affiliations, have stood behind the President in his manly and humane activity.

The precise method of conveying the petition was never regarded by us as of controlling importance, and when Russia indicated, semi-officially, that it would be unacceptable, we deemed it best for the interests of this country and of the Jews in Russia to avoid a course that would produce unnecessary irritation. It was then, therefore, that we, upon our own initiative, and without any suggestion whatsoever, besought President Roosevelt to alter his decision to send the signed petition, and to transmit its text instead. I can not be too emphatic in declaring that at no time has there been any disposition on the President's part to change the original plan. Every step taken was

most satisfactory to us, and in accordance with our requests.

It now remains to get in all the petitions which are in circulation, bind them up, and deposit the bound volumes in the State Department. I have called for the return of all that are not yet in.

The petition was delivered October 31st by SIMON WOLF to Secretary HAY, with the following letter from the President of the I. O. B. B.:

*October 5, 1903.*

*Hon. John Hay, Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.*

SIR: On July 14, 1903, by direction of the President, the loose sheets of the so-called "Kishinef Petition" were delivered to him, to be transmitted to St. Petersburg or placed among the archives of our own State Department, as subsequent developments might determine. At the same time, the President entrusted to the Executive Committee of the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith the custody of the loose sheets, with permission to have them bound in a suitable volume. The committee has performed the duty thus imposed, and which it welcomed as an honorable privilege. The volume will be delivered to you, along with this communication, by Hon. Simon Wolf, a member of the committee.

For all time to come, it will testify to the love of Justice, Humanity, and Liberty which moved the President to give it countenance and its signers to father it. It stands as the verdict of the whole people condemning the denial of religious liberty, and upholding the President

in asserting that condemnation. If it be without precedent, it is the more precious for becoming one. Civilization made a distinct and notable advance when a great nation of eighty millions of people, speaking not only through its official head, but also through its most representative citizens in their individual capacities, served notice on the world that those who are made to suffer martyrdom for conscience's sake, wherever they may abide, have friends and sympathizers in this country. Such an example will not be lost. The oppressor will hereafter pause before he strikes, and his victim will be saved from utter despair by the consciousness that the voice of humanity will be raised in his behalf.

In this view, the services rendered by the President, his advisers, and the people generally are not to be measured by the benefits conferred upon the Jews alone. This is one of the oft-recurring cases in which the Jews, by their misfortunes, have led the world to a just appreciation of the truths of which they are the devoted missionaries.

In every part of the world where Jews are to be found there is thanksgiving because the President and you and the entire American people have championed the cause of the oppressed. Everywhere admiration has been excited, and in this country the people are proud of the courageous humanity which has been displayed.

In the gratitude, admiration, and pride which prevail we earnestly participate—more earnestly, perhaps, than others, because we so well know that the President from the beginning was governed solely by the desire to benefit the suffering Jews, and that every step taken had that object in view.

In delivering the petition into your hands, we avail ourselves of the opportunity to make this record of our profoundly grateful appreciation. I am, sir,

Very respectfully yours,

LEO. N. LEVI.

Secretary HAY replied to Mr. LEVI's letter as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,  
Washington, October 31, 1903.

*Leo N. Levi, Esq., President of the Executive Committee of  
the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith, New York, N.Y.:*

DEAR SIR: I have received, at the hands of the Hon. Simon Wolf, your letter of the 5th of October. He has also delivered to me the bound copy of the Kishinef petition. It gives me pleasure to accept the charge of this important and significant document, and to assign it a place in the archives of the Department of State.

Altho this copy of your petition did not reach the high destination for which it was intended, its words have attained world-wide publicity, and have found a lodgment in many thousands of minds. This petition will be always memorable, not only for what it contains, but also for the number and weight of the signatures attached to it, embracing some of the most prominent names of our generation—men renowned for intelligence, philanthropy, and public spirit.

In future when the students of history come to peruse this document they will wonder how the petitioners, moved to profound indignation by intolerable wrongs



perpetrated on the innocent and helpless, should have expressed themselves in language so earnest and eloquent and yet so dignified, so moderate, and so decorous. It is a valuable addition to public literature, and will be sacredly cherished among the treasures of this department. I am, sir,

Very respectfully yours,

JOHN HAY.

## IV

## RUSSIA AND ITS JEWISH PROBLEM

*(Three Letters of Arnold White, addressed to the Public Ledger, Philadelphia, issues of July 26, 27, and 28, 1903; Jacob H. Schiff's Answer and Mr. White's Rejoinder)*

## I.—Evolution of Russia

ST. PETERSBURG, July 5.

Rolling over the dusty road-bed that unites Calais with the Neva, thoughts come unbidden to the traveler to Russia in the long hours of his journey. Reading, for more than a few minutes at a time, is out of the question. Heat and glare, with the alternative of heat and gloom, compel bodily inaction. There is nothing to do but think, and thought means looking backward and forward.

To any one who knows his Russia there is plenty to think of. The process of painful evolution through which Russia is passing to-day is the most fascinating thing in the world. One of the acutest and most experienced of living Englishmen said to me shortly before leaving London: "So you are going to Russia. Well, anything may happen there within three months." But for the personality of my prophet I should have despised his warning. Only a day or two afterward another friend said to me: "Anything may happen in Russia within three months."

"What do you know about it?" said I.

"Only this," he rejoined: "So-and-So," naming a

high military authority, who is in close touch with the intelligence departments of all European countries, "used those words to me only last week."

It seems, then, that in England, at all events, the word has been passed round that "something" may happen in Russia before the winter. What is that "something"? At any time during the past half century "something" has been going to happen, but nothing has happened in the sense in which the prediction was intended.

It is true that there are signs of unrest. But Ministers will be assassinated, foreigners expelled, and Jews bludgeoned to death a dozen times more before the "something" happens which changed a dynasty in Servia last June, or converted a monarchy into a republic when Oliver Cromwell gave notice to Charles that England was tired of the Stuarts.

The late Russian Minister of the Interior was killed by a disappointed subordinate.

David Israel Braham, the *Times* correspondent, was expelled from Russia, if the foreign correspondents of St. Petersburg are correct in the information which they gave me, because he had shown a want of tact in dealing with the authorities, a want of accuracy in dealing with facts, and a want of caution in the company he kept. Mr. Braham is a very able writer, and he represented a paper which was formerly the most powerful in the world, but, if half that I hear, even from English sources, be true, it is impossible to wonder at the action of the Ministry of the Interior in sending him out of the country.

Still, the manner in which Mr. Braham was treated is

indefensible, however grave may have been the causes of his sentence. Sudden and needlessly harsh expulsion of a British subject, and that British subject a newspaper correspondent, is, naturally, resented by every free-born Briton. But if I had been M. Plehve, I would have expelled Mr. Braham. We hear a great deal of Mr. Braham's expulsion, but nothing whatever of the expulsion from Tiflis of a colonel in the British army, who had not given to Russia one tithe of the offense which Mr. Braham is alleged to have given the authorities in St. Petersburg.

British subjects, I repeat, will be again expelled from Russia, and the world will go on very much as before. Expulsion of foes is a Russian custom—primitive, as a means; effectual, as an end. Russian consuls in India keep a close watch on the Indian army, but no British consuls are allowed to exist in Central Asia. In diplomacy Russia is first, easily first, all the time, because Russia knows what she wants, and Russian Ministers, who are chosen for their efficiency, and not for their birth, their eloquence, or their connections, have no constituents to think of, and are, therefore, able to devote the whole of their time to the advancement of their country's interests. If they do not know what that interest is, there is fair *prima facie* evidence that nobody else does.

Hence the scoldings and screamings of an "enlightened" foreign press produce no more effect on Russian policy than would the scratching of the dome of St. Paul's on the ritual preferred and adopted by the dean and chapter of the metropolitan cathedral.

I am not saying that this is right, but I do declare

that the average newspaper man of England and America, and the average politician, for that matter, as a rule know less of Russian aims and policy than of the Greek particle or of the ecclesiastical disputes of the fathers.

If Russia is not to be forced, there is only one influence by which she can be affected—the influence of self-interest. Show her that Russian interests require a change in policy, and Russian policy is changed without ten minutes' delay. Unless you can do this, you waste your breath, your ink, and your time. No appeal to humanity in war, for instance, gets home to Russia, because Russians agree with the sensible Macaulay in thinking that there is no such cruelty in the wide, wide world as humanity in war. Russians have a word, "*rubeet*," which means to "cut up," or chop, into little pieces. This is the word the Russian general used to describe the operations in Manchuria—which Lord Lansdowne affects to believe is still a British interest, to possess which is an open door, thus deluding the British public into thinking that Manchuria to-day is not Russian, but Chinese, and, therefore, accessible to England.

Russia has great advantages and great drawbacks. She is self-contained, enormously strong, homogeneous, free from the ecclesiastical strife of Roman Catholic and Protestant countries. She has enjoyed for two hundred years a continuity of foreign policy, and her climate gives her a hardy, energetic, and prolific race of men and women, who need nothing but temperance and resolve to conquer the languid southerners as the Goths conquered effete and lascivious Rome.

On the other hand, the Russian political system rests on the solid bed-rock of popular faith and popular

ignorance. If Russians were educated like the Germans, the system of delegated autocracy would fall like a serac when the sun had changed its center of gravity. Every school, every factory, every telephone is a nail in the coffin of the political system that holds Russia together. The spread of liberal education and the autocracy of *techinovniks* are incompatible. Hence, Russia is not consistent in founding elaborate schools for electric technology and bacteriology. Science is the quest for truth, and the combination of a hungry stomach and a liberal education is, therefore, the raw material of radicalism in England, populism in America, socialism in Germany, and nihilism in Russia.

Hence, Russia is seamed with secret societies. The "Bund" is a great fact. As education spreads, secret combination for political purposes continues to grow. For the first time in her history, Russia is now witnessing the singular spectacle of students and the peasantry making common cause against the common enemy—autocracy.

Nevertheless, Russia succeeds everywhere. Her territorial growth and diplomatic victories appeal to the pride of every Russian outside the disaffected student and peasant classes; but the students, not irreconcilable, each year produce a crop of officials who come into line, marry, and accept the great system that gives them bread and butter to-day and infinite possibilities for the most insatiable ambition to-morrow.

Russia, for all her autocracy, is the clever man's country. In Russia the career opens to talent in a way that even free England can not boast. Pobedonosteff was a priest's son. None of the Ministers are men of

family, except the Minister of the Court and Count Lamsdorff.

The peasants themselves can not rise, even if they wished to do so—which is not the case, because the arms of precision are in the hands of authority. Governments, when the army is with them, are far stronger against a popular rising than they were a century back. One Maxim will clear a street, and a Q. F. six-inch gun is a successful repartee to the strongest barricade.

No; if “something” is going to happen within three months, it will not be in the shape of a popular rising; firstly, because the people in the mass are desperately loyal to their Czar—they are his sheep—and, secondly, if they did rise, a second Blagovestchensk would sterilize contagion. The danger, if danger there be, is with the secret societies, the Jews, and the irreconcilable students.

Of the secret societies, I know, on the highest authority, that they are more active, daring, and numerous than they have been for many years. This much is certain: the government spares neither pains nor money in learning all about them. It has them well in hand, and, until the people, in exhausted patience, are willing to rise unarmed, and die protesting dumbly against the misery of their lives by accepting martyrdom by the million, there can be and will be no revolution.

But there are no millions of miserable peasants so sick of life as to renounce black bread, vodka, ikons, and the plow, or to prefer the slaughter-field or the place of a skull. The existence of these millions of insurgents outside the Jewish Pale is a fiction.

True, there are hungry peasants on the Volga, and the crops fail somewhere in Russia every year. But the

gravity of the bread problem in Russia is not yet equal to that of our Indian Empire ; and the Bengali in the Ganges Valley is more likely to rise against the British raja than the patient, cheery, plucky moujik against his beloved Czar. As unfriendly Russians see in South Africa and in Ireland many evils that exist only in their imagination, so Russophobe English discover in the Czar's dominions all sorts of perils that exist only in the minds of those who, wishing ill to Russia, aver that revolution is imminent, or that "something" is bound to happen in order to bring to an end a system which, according to them, is like that of Bomba—"the negation of God."

Russia is Russia still, and Central Asia, Manchuria, and North China are her safety-valves.

## II.—The Jew in Russia

ST. PETERSBURG, *July 8.*

If Russia be strong among the nations, she has a vulnerable spot. Her heel can be wounded: and she knows it. The Jews are despised and rejected of men in Russia, but they are clever and industrious, and also the most virtuous and prolific race in the empire. The mills of the gods grind slowly, but fate is not to be averted by imperial manifesto or ministerial ukase. When Russia partitioned Poland, in a deal with Austria and Prussia, she received into her veins a poison germ. She would give much to be rid of that strain of infection from her life-blood.

The Jews inside Russia multiply and wax mighty in ever-increasing misery, while the Jews outside Russia



multiply in ever-increasing prosperity and power. The press of Europe may be said to be Jewish. Finance is in Jewish hands. The South African War was not fought for the Jews, but to them was garnered most of the harvest that came from the blood shed by Boer and Briton. The British taxpayer is poorer, the Boer is certainly poorer for the war. Only the great Jewish houses are enriched. The wealth that comes to them is by no means squandered in idle display. Technical education in England and research in consumption are endowed, not by Anglo-Saxons, but the Jews.

Egypt is enriched by the financial genius of a Jew. The cable and news distributing agencies are Jewish. One man in six living in New York is a Jew. The President of the United States has seriously considered the policy of interfering in what most people regard as the internal affairs of Russia. The Prime Minister and the Cabinet of England alter their policy and abandon an important bill in Parliament at the frown of the Rothschilds. At court and in society Jews in Britain are predominant.

Offend the Jewish aristocracy of England and you offend her courtiers and her court; such is the power of the "Chosen People" outside the limits of Russia—a power gained when they lost their taste for pastoral theocracy in their monotonous progress toward the mastery of the world.

But in Russia there is another story to tell—a story of famine—constant, grinding, but remediable want.

At Wilna recently, a laundry was started by a charitable Jew. He told me that such was the destitution of the town that whole families of Jews had not a single

article of linen between them. Other families possessed one shirt. This misery is not exceptional, but typical. The Jew is not dirt loving. Misery is more acute to-day than in 1893. Russo-Jewish misery will be more acute in December than in July, because every baby born is another mouth to fill from a store that even to-day will not go round.

Nobody hitherto has suggested more than a palliative for the Pale. There are six hundred thousand artisans, and only work for half the number. The limits of the Ghetto do not stretch; but the endurance of the sufferers is nearly at cracking point, and there are more sufferers every day.

Twelve years ago Baron de Hirsch conceived the plan of relieving the pressure in the Pale by creating a new Judea in the Argentine Republic. A few thousands have emigrated there, but the plan is a failure. No private enterprise can deal with the Jewish question, and the Argentine is too far away to entice a fraction of the population. The average Russian Jew loves Russia, reveres the Czar, and dreads the high seas. Hirsch's plan has not even absorbed the natural increase.

If the Jewish question is to be tackled, Russia must tackle it, but the Jewish question is not exclusively Russian. On the contrary, the high rents and key money of East London and of Manchester, and the political protests of the American Jews, are as much part of the Jewish question as Kishinef itself.

Nor is the Kishinef massacre a mere question of Russian internal politics. It comes straight home to myriads of poor English and American families, whose rents rise automatically and whose wages are docked by the

competition of an immigration stimulated by the bludgeons of Russian rioters.

The nations are members one of another. Kishinef echoes in Whitechapel.

The Jewish question is a world question, and will never be settled by girding at Russia from the arm-chairs of English or American newspaper leader writers. Those who wish to help the poor Jews of Russia must, therefore, ask themselves how much they are sorry. If they only sorry enough to swear at the Czar and abuse his ministers, they, not the poor Jews, will get relief. If they are sorry at all, they must begin by understanding not only Jewish sufferings, but their real—not the ostensible—cause.

“Is it possible,” I hear the kind-hearted reader saying, “that there is a Russian defense for the butchery of men, the violation of women, and the torture of little children?” No, there is no defense for these things; but there are reasons for the conditions that have led to a long series of massacres in the past and will lead to many more.

In the first place, let it be clearly understood that, however gladly the Russian Pharaoh would hear of the departure or death from pestilence or sword of the whole Jewish community, the murder of sixteen or sixty Jews is not only of no use to the Minister of the Interior and the Minister of Finance, but it is a humiliation and a danger.

Jew massacres on a small scale injures Russian credit, excites the press of the civilized world, creates a public opinion in Europe hampering to Russian diplomacy, occupies the time of overworked ministers, and grieves

profoundly one of the kindest and tenderest hearts among the world's rulers. The Czar's grief at the Kishinef massacre was as sincere as the grief and indignation of the saintliest soul in London or Philadelphia. Jew massacre, on any scale, is not liked or connived at by the Russian government.

No! The Russian government has nothing to gain and much to lose from petty massacres or from civil commotions of any kind. Great massacres are out of date. When, therefore, the London *Times* printed a bogus despatch, purporting to be from M. de Plehve, the Russian Home Secretary, and published other statements devoid of foundation, reflecting on Russian inaction, the world's ignorance of the real facts exposed its credulity to imposition.

Any stick is good enough for the beating of a monster, but truth will prevail. The ominous importance of the Kishinef affair arises from the fact that the Russian masses would like to exterminate the Jews, not from the fiction that a Russian Minister had conceived, instigated, or connived at the tragedy in Kishinef. This is the first point to be grasped by those who want to help the Russian Jews.

Between the Russians and the Jews is a great racial gulf. The Jew is Oriental, subtle, temperate, cynical, prudent, proud, industrious, and exclusive. The Russian is an impulsive, affectionate, superstitious, carousing, fighting spendthrift.

Individual Russians are friendly with individual Jews, but, taken in the mass, contact between Jews and moujiks has much the same effect as contact between the fighting races of Northern India and the sleek babus.

No Russian minister created the feeling of racial antagonism, and none of them is responsible for the qualities of the Russian peasant which render him the easy prey of an astuter and higher order of intelligence than his own. The Russian peasant is like the Sikh or the Rajput. Leave him alone, and the Bengali money-lender's blood will soon redden the Ganges. *Pax Britannica* alone prevents a hundred Indian Kishinefs. Only the sword of the Czar stands between destruction and his Hebrew subjects. It is his Majesty's will that no massacre shall occur, and, since Russian Ministers are chosen for their efficiency, no general massacres will occur.

But little ones will come again and again; and more and more as time rolls on will Kishinef repeat itself, unless good men and women all over the world will recognize their own personal responsibility for ending this horrible tragedy.

I have already ascertained that Russian Ministers are by no means insensible to the march of events. They perceive that before long facts will compel Russia to take some step for the relief of Jewish misery in the Pale. It is a libel to describe Russians as uncivilized or inhuman. They are practical people, and, like the rest of us, obey the first law of nature—self-preservation. If Russia were to obey Anglo-Saxon philanthropists, and to fling down the barriers to Jewish emancipation, not five years would pass before Russia would be Jewish. In ten years every place of importance in the empire would be filled by a Jew.

This might be an excellent thing for Russia. That is not the question. The Russians are solid to a man

against national suicide, and the only alternative to national suicide has hitherto been Jewish repression, with its hideous accompaniments of perennial want, tempered by occasional massacre and a stimulated emigration.

There is a better way. How much longer will the civilized world brook the scandal of the Jewish Pale? A long time, I think, because the rich Jews themselves would have shut their cash-boxes to Russia after the massacre of 1880 if they had been really in earnest on behalf of their poorer coreligionists. The Gentile world can not be expected to be more sensitive to Jewish misery than the Hebrew millionaires.

The solution of the problem depends on the consciences of all Christians—Russian, British, and American. Christian nations owe everything to their Jewish founder. There is a cry of little children from the Russian Pale which is growing sadder every day. The conclusion is certain. If the Jews are to be helped, it must be by Russia. But before Russia can stir, she must be helped by Christendom.

### III.—An International Conference to Relieve the Jews

ST. PETERSBURG, *July 16.*

Since my arrival here I have seen and conversed at length with Ministers, high officials; also with leaders of the Jewish community. I have no authority to publish the details of any conversation, but the following is the result of the examination I have made into the Jewish question.

In Russia you never hear an educated Israelite denounce either the Czar or his Ministers. On the contrary, the Jews of Russia and their leaders are just as loyal to the Emperor Nicholas as the Jews of England to King Edward, or the Jews of America to President Roosevelt. Russian Jews deplore the system, but never abuse its administration.

The chief impression left on my mind, after many conferences with leading men in St. Petersburg, is that Russia herself is in the mood to change for the better the condition of those of her Hebrew subjects who are willing and able to work. It is not too much to say that the psychological moment has come for change, and change for the better is inevitable, if the indiscretions of emotion are exchanged for deliberate and resolute determination of the Anglo-Saxon world to help Russia in the change.

My conversations with de Plehve, Count Lamsdorff, and others have been confidential, but I shall be guilty of no indiscretion in stating that I found surprising readiness to listen to any practical proposal for the solution of the Jewish question. The arguments I have ventured to place before Russian Ministers, on behalf of the Jewish inhabitants of the zonal provinces, are based on the assumption that the Kishinef massacre is not a Russian domestic question, but one of grave international concern, pressing closely on the laboring classes, male and female, of Great Britain and America.

I am of the opinion that neither the American republic nor the British monarchy desires further Jewish immigration for its own sake.

Britain contemplates restrictive measures. Her Royal

Commission has received ample evidence to establish on a firm foundation the case for restrictive legislation. But Great Britain hesitates to legislate against the Jews in the afterglow of the flames of Kishinef. England values her tradition of the right of asylum even more than she values political peace. Still, the duty of governments is to protect their own people, and I have no hesitation in declaring that before many months are over—Kishinef notwithstanding—the force of public opinion will compel Mr. Balfour's government to take some steps to arrest the further colonization of congested cities in Britain by Polish and Russian immigrants.

What form should that action take on both sides of the Atlantic? Is it to be purely selfish? Shall it be callously indifferent alike to the tragedy of the Pale and the dilemma of Russia? Or is the action of the English-speaking peoples to proceed on the larger lines of wisdom and humanity? Surely the latter.

If the Prime Minister of Britain and the President of the United States were jointly and severally to address to the government of Russia an invitation to a conference on the whole Jewish question—not with the object of placing pressure upon Russia, but with the view of consulting with her on the difficulties of a complex problem affecting the three Powers, a problem beyond the capacity even of Russia to solve for herself—there is reason to believe that Russia would not sullenly refuse to entertain the idea.

It is true that the situation is delicate, and requires not only adroit and technical diplomacy, but heart, mind, and knowledge. Nor would such a plan fail to commend itself to the Jewish community.



The second suggestion made by the Executive Committee of the American B'nai B'rith, in its memorandum to Secretary Hay, ran as follows (see p. 121):

Using the Kishinef and other recent incidents of more or less similar nature as grounds, an official invitation by the United States should be addressed to all the Powers to an international conference, to consider persecutions and oppressions growing out of racial and religious prejudices and hatred, and to protect civilization and international concord from the evil effects of such persecutions and oppressions.

This resolution as it stands is inadmissible, because it reflects on Russia; but the idea of a conference is formulated in such a way as to open the door to agreement, and the fact that international consultation is desirable is, for the time being, the whole point at issue.

No conference is desirable, or even practicable, from which Russia is absent. Russia is the dean of the nations in the Jewish question. Whether or not Russia consents to confer with the Anglo-Saxon nations—and this depends on the tact with which the matter is handled—Russia herself must soon take action.

Since 1843 Russia has not enlarged the area available for her Jewish subjects, altho the Hebrew population in the zone of the Fifteen Provinces has quadrupled. The difficulty, however, with Russia in dealing with the Jewish question is not land but money; the trouble with England and America is not money, but land.

If, then, as the result of the proposed conference, Russia and the Anglo-Saxon Powers should agree to pool both their difficulties and their assets, the back of the

problem will be broken, and a settlement is in sight. Russia contributes land, and the two Anglo-Saxon nations are to help with money. Baron de Hirsch has provided for about eight thousand bread-winners in the Argentine. But the normal increase of the Jewish population in Russia is one per cent., or, say, fifty-two thousand a year. The Hirsch millions, therefore, have not overtaken even the normal increase, which enlarges year by year. The price of escape from the Jewish trouble increases daily.

But where is the money to come from? There are three sources.

First, there are the Hirsch millions. The Baron would turn in his grave if he knew that his noble conception of a free Israel was marred by his executors, and that his legacy was employed to bring the impoverished Hebrews into congested England or congested New York. The Hirsch millions should be used for the purpose intended by the Baron—if not in the Argentine, then in Russia or near Russia—as may be decided after inquiry by the three Powers concerned.

Second, there is the vast wealth of the Jewish aristocracy on both sides of the Atlantic. The gift by Jewish millionaires of \$1,500,000 for an English technical school, on the Charlottenburg plan, is a gracious and generous act. But there are nearer claims on the great Jewish capitalists than the subsidization of rich England. Here again is a Hirsch idea—which I repeat from his grave. If Englishmen want education, they can pay for it. But the cry from the Pale comes from those who can not pay even for existence, and who will writhe in hunger and wo unless their own flesh and blood, and all Christen-

dom who mourns for them, come to their relief. Baron de Hirsch and Baron Alphonse de Rothschild have done something, but it is a bagatelle and is no solution of the problem. Social and political pressure should, therefore, be exerted to induce the Jewish wealthy to unite for the equipment of the territory which Russia shall provide for the relief of her Jews.

Third, there is Christendom as the backbone of the scheme for obtaining funds for the ransom of Israel. The crusades of the Middle Ages were undertaken from a sentiment of duty. Chivalry and Christianity in the twentieth century are not dead, as cynics avow. Moreover, our national interests and our individual duty for once are identical. To contribute toward the settlement of the Jewish question means Anglo-American partnership with Russia—and partnership with Russia in one great humanitarian object may lead to a closer understanding and friendlier relations between the powers on other and more material interests. Christianity has enriched, softened, and refined millions of those who do not claim the name of Christian, and if ever the Founder of Christianity called to His followers to follow Him, it is now, when the race to which He belonged is in sore straits.

We can solve the Jewish question hand in hand with Russia to-day. To-morrow may be too late. There is a claim on Catholic and Protestant, on the Greek Orthodox Church, on the agnostic and on the Nonconformist and the Episcopalian alike. It is a call on the whole human race, in which Russia and the Anglo-Saxons must take the lead and bear the white man's burden. It is they who must take counsel together.

The main principles of the scheme may be summarized as follows :

1. England and America must examine the question anew, so as to understand that the Russian position as regards the Jews is not inspired by futile brutality, but dictated by the first law of nature—self-preservation—and by the duty of rulers toward the majority of their subjects. Whether Russia has sinned in thus acting is not in question.

2. The solution of the Jewish question is insoluble by any single nation. Even Russia is impotent if she acts alone.

3. The Jewish question is a world problem, and, therefore, international in its essence.

4. To solve the Jewish problem a conference between Russia and the Anglo-Saxon Powers is essential, in order that the problem as it affects each Power may be understood by all the parties concerned before its solution is attempted.

5. That the Russia-Anglo-Saxon conference shall adopt the principle of Russia dividing territory and the other Powers finding capital for the establishment of the redundant Jewish population, now multiplying in the Pale, to their own misery and the certainty of eventual bloodshed and revolution.

6. That the capital necessary shall consist:

(a) Of the funds of the Jewish Colonization Association as a nucleus.

(b) Of the contributions of wealthy Jews, who shall be invited to suspend their generosity to rich nations until the congestion of the Jewish Pale is relieved and the Jewish problem solved by the settlement of their coreligionists in territory of adequate size.

(c) Of contributions from Christians of nations, who believe that the race to which their Founder belongs has a positive and primary claim on their charity and their good will. The release of the Holy Places from the custody of the Moslem is a trifle compared with the release of the Jews from their living sepulchre.

Again, I repeat, without revealing any of the admissions or promises made to me by the rulers of Russia, that I have the best reason for saying that the Czar's Ministers will not summarily reject proposals for a dispassionate examination of the Jewish question, if these proposals are made in such a way as to attain the object aimed at—viz., the solution of the Jewish question.

Russia will not discuss the question as to whether or not contact between moujik and Jew is good or bad. She has made up her mind on the point, and the question is not an open one so far as she is concerned.

All that is asked for to-day is the acceptance of the principle that civilization is dishonored by the present state of the Jewish question, and that before a solution is feasible the three great nations must understand the problem.

To understand it they must confer.

Will not Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Hay, Mr. Balfour and Lord Lansdowne seize the golden moment?

**IV.—Answer of the Hon. JACOB H. SCHIFF to  
Mr. ARNOLD WHITE**

BAR HARBOR, Maine, *August 3, 1903.*

*To the Editor of Public Ledger :*

I have read with interest the letters on Russia and the Jews, published in the *Public Ledger* over the signature of Mr. Arnold White. It is stated that when Baron de Hirsch first became interested in the Russian Jewish problem he arranged with Mr. Arnold White, for a

weighty consideration, to go to Russia and see what could be done with the Czar's government in an effort to raise the status of its Jewish subjects through technical and agricultural education, to be provided by means which he, the Baron, would furnish. Mr. White, it is said, reported to the Baron that to carry out his designs it would be well if a certain considerable sum were deposited with the Russian government for the purposes of his, the Baron's, educational plans simultaneously with the petitioning of the government for permission to carry these plans into effect. The sought-for permission was refused, but Baron de Hirsch's money was appropriated—so it was stated at the time—for the building of churches !

“Give money to Russia” is again the advice of Mr. White, so that a new and larger Pale may be erected by it, within its boundaries, for the establishment of its Jewish population, now multiplying in the existing Pale and dragging out a miserable existence there. And this is the only solution Mr. White can see, after the confidential conversations he has had, as he states, with M. Plehve, Count Lamsdorf, and others of the rulers of Russia.

No one outside of Russia will dispute the fact that civilization is dishonored by the present state of the Jewish question, but few will admit that before a solution is feasible the three great nations (England, America, and Russia) must understand the problem.

I am not competent to speak for England, but no such problem as Mr. White assumes exists in the United States. It is true, a very considerable number of natives of Russia of the Jewish faith of recent years have come,

and will continue to come, to these shores in search of new and better homes than they have been permitted to enjoy in the land of their birth, in which their ancestors had lived for centuries; but that these immigrants have created a problem for the people of the United States can not for a moment be admitted.

To the contrary, hardly any portion of the population of our country is so slight a burden as are the newcomers of the Jewish faith; they, as a rule, become promptly self-supporting, and, after a comparatively short lapse of time, become earnestly imbued with the spirit of our institutions. Our country has no better citizens than the bulk of those who, fleeing from Russian intolerance and persecution, have found an asylum within the boundaries of this land of liberty.

But Mr. White is right in this: The Jewish question in Russia must be solved by and in Russia. Five million people can not emigrate, and no matter how many of its Jewish subjects may leave the Czar's dominions, there will always remain five million Jews in Russia. There will also remain there the same Jewish question as it exists to-day, so long as the Czar's government, instead of endeavoring to raise the status of its Jewish subjects so that they may become a source of strength to the state, persists in making pariahs of them. Russia breaks them down morally and physically through the application of exceptional laws, thus creating and intensifying the very conditions which have brought about the horrors of Kishinef, and which will make us readily agree that civilization is dishonored by the present state of the Russian-Jewish question.

Let Russia abolish all exceptional laws. Let it per-

mit its Jewish subjects to dwell within its vast boundaries wherever the opportunity offers itself to honest effort to succeed, instead of compelling them to drag out a miserable existence within a narrow Pale, and there will no longer remain any Jewish question. Wherever the Jew has been admitted to equality before the law with his Christian neighbor, he has become as good a citizen and as ardent a lover of his country as his Catholic and Protestant fellow.

No just man will challenge the assertion that in England, in Germany, in France, and certainly in the United States, the citizen of the Jewish faith is not only a warm and sincere supporter of the state, but from a moral and economic point of view, is a source of strength, and not of weakness, to the country to which he owes allegiance.

Self-preservation—the first law of nature—should, therefore, determine Russia in reversing, and not in continuing, its policy governing the treatment of its Jewish subjects. No additional Pales, as Mr. White suggests, formed with the aid of Anglo-Saxon funds, under the guise of Jewish colonization within Russia, but the strengthening and uplifting of these now so unhappy people through equal protection by the law of their land. No other remedy is needed; no other is practicable of execution, and while it may yet remain delayed in coming, come it must, because civilization, justice, and righteousness march on, and must in the end triumph over barbarity, injustice, and prejudice wherever they prevail and by whomsoever they are practised.

JACOB H. SCHIFF.



## V.—Rejoinder of Mr. ARNOLD WHITE

LONDON, *August* 18, 1903.*To the Editor :*

I have read in the *Public Ledger* of August 6, statements by Mr. Jacob H. Schiff, to which I beg leave to reply. Mr. Schiff says:

It is stated that when Baron de Hirsch first became interested in the Russian Jewish problem he arranged with Mr. Arnold White, for a weighty consideration, to go to Russia and see what could be done with the Czar's government in an effort to raise the status of its Jewish subjects through technical and agricultural education, to be provided by means which he, the Baron, would furnish. Mr. White, it is said, reported to the Baron that to carry out his designs it would be well if a certain considerable sum were deposited with the Russian government for the purposes of his, the Baron's, educational plans simultaneously with the petitioning of the government for permission to carry these plans into effect.

This is a paragraph the meaning of which is not very clear, but it contains three misstatements of fact.

*First.* Baron de Hirsch did not arrange with me, for "a weighty consideration," to go to Russia and see what could be done by the Czar's government. My first visit to Russia was paid for out of my own pocket. Subsequently I made a business arrangement with Baron de Hirsch, who was my paid employer during four other visits. I have also visited Russia on two subsequent occasions at my own expense in the interest of the Jews.

*Second.* It is not true that I reported to the Baron that to carry out his designs it would be well if a certain considerable sum were deposited with the Russian government for the purpose of his, the Baron's, plans.

Previous to my connection with Baron de Hirsch, he had entrusted a very large sum of money (I believe the amount was \$500,000) to the Dowager Empress for the purpose of assisting the hospitals in which her Majesty was interested. This money, I believe, never reached the hospitals, but was retained by M. Pobedonosteff, and was actually converted into an educational weapon against the Jews.

When I first discussed the matter with Baron de Hirsch, he was smarting under this injustice, and I strongly advised him, after my first visit to Russia, under no circumstances to entrust money to M. Pobedonosteff, whose futile policy is the cause of most of the trouble.

It is true that after I had negotiated the treaty with the Russian government by which intending Jewish emigrants were released from military service, from certain passport disabilities, and from certain arrears of taxation, a deposit of \$100,000 was required. That was a condition with which Baron de Hirsch complied, but I have had nothing to do with the administration since his death, and I do not know what has become of it.

*Third.* Mr. Schiff is entirely wrong in suggesting that my policy is "to give money to Russia." What I have urged and shall continue to urge to the end of my life is that it is the duty of Christendom, and especially of Englishmen and Americans, to relieve the world of this awful scandal of misery that is wrapt up in the Jewish question. This can only be done by the expansion of the boundaries within which Russian Jews are allowed to live. Russia alone can give the land for this purpose. What I am proposing is not that money should be given

to Russia, but to the Jews. I am not rich, but whenever the time comes for helping the Jews in this way I shall give all I can afford, because I believe it to be a duty for all Christians to help the race to which the Founder of Christianity belongs.

ARNOLD WHITE.

## V

**THE JUDGMENT OF GENTILE RUSSIA**

**The Opinions of Russian State Ministers, Governors, Generals, High Dignitaries of the Church, Educators, and Writers, from the Time of Catherine II. to the Present Day, on the Situation of the Jews in Russia**

**I.—Count Sachar Grigorjewitsch Tschernyschew (1772)**

From the manifesto to the inhabitants of the annexed Polish provinces, issued in 1772 by the Russian General, Count SACHAR GRIGORJEWITSCH TSCHERNYSCHEW, Vice-President of the Imperial War Office, Governor-General of White Russia, etc.:

. . . It follows from the solemn guarantee of the free exercise of religion, and the assurance of the inviolability of property, that the Jewish communities in the cities and on the estates that have been incorporated with the Russian Empire shall continue, and be protected also in the enjoyment of all those liberties which they possess now in conformity with the laws and with their circumstances; for her Imperial Majesty's humanity will not permit that they alone shall be excluded from the clemency extended to all in common and from future well-being under her blessed rule, so long as they on their part live as faithful subjects in due obedience and carry on trade and industry within the bounds of their professions.

Source: First Complete Code of the Russian Empire, vol. xix., No. 13850, pp. 553-556.

**II.—Report of the State Council (1802)**

Report of seven members of the State Council, submitted in the session of June 9, 1802, on occasion of the examination of the report of the Directing Senate "on the decree forbidding the Jews to engage in commerce in the residential cities and in the governments of the interior." The seven members were: Count PETER WASSILJEWITSCH SAWADOWSKI, appointed Minister of Popular Education in 1802; Vice-Chancellor Prince ALEXANDER BORISSOWITSCH KURAKIN; Attorney-General ALEXANDER ANDREJEWITSCH BEKLESCHOW, General of the Infantry, appointed Governor-General of Moscow in 1804; Imperial Treasurer Count ALEXEJ IWANOWITSCH WASSILJEW, appointed Minister of Finance in 1802; Vice-President of the War Office, SERGEJ KOSMITSCH WJASMITINOW, General of the Infantry, Minister of War, 1802-1808; Prince PETER WASSILJEWITSCH LOPUCHIN, appointed Minister of Justice in 1803, and President of the State Council in 1816; DIMITRI PROKOFJEWITSCH TROSCHTSCHINSKI, Minister of Justice, 1814-1817:

The Jews can by no means be deprived of the right to import goods and to sell at wholesale: (1) by reason of the municipal law which permits merchants from other cities, of the first and second guilds, to engage in wholesale commerce everywhere without exception, and even encourages them to do so; (2) because the right to engage in wholesale commerce is granted even to foreigners and can not therefore be denied to Russian subjects constituting a not inconsiderable part of the population, who, moreover, pay double taxes; (3) because all the laws forbidding the Jews to engage in trade in the interior originated prior to the time when the Jews became Russian subjects; but since those governments in which they are living in large numbers were acquired by Russia, and since they were admitted as Russian subjects,

and guild rights were granted to them in those governments, they can not be deprived of the right to engage in wholesale commerce in the governments of the interior without destroying the foundation of those guild rights ; (4) because, in so far as the Jews import contraband merchandise and forge labels, felonies committed by individuals can not be made a basis of laws for an entire class, especially if these offenses are due also to inadequate supervision on the part of the police and the customs officials, and could easily be obviated by improving the supervision.

Source : Archives of the State Council, vol. iii, part 2, col. 740.

### **III.—Investigation Committee of the Russian Senate (1804)**

Report of the Committee for Reorganizing Jewish Affairs, instituted by an imperial order to the Senate, November 9, 1802 (date of report, October, 1804). Members of the committee: Count VALERIAN ALEXANDROWITSCH SUBOW, General of the Infantry; Count, later Prince, VICTOR PAWLOWITSCH KOTSCHUBEJ, Minister of the Interior, later Imperial Chancellor; GAWRIEL ROMANOWITSCH DERSCHAWIN, Minister of Justice; Count SEWERIN OSSIPOWITSCH POTOCKI, Senator; Prince ADAM ADAMOWITSCH TSCHARTORYISKI, Under-Secretary of State of the Foreign Office; Prince PETER WASSILJEWITSCH LOPUCHIN, successor to Count Subow, who died before the committee completed its work:

The elevation of the Jewish population must be based chiefly on the following principles:

1. It must be borne in mind, in the first place, that the Jews must be raised as much as possible out of their present degrading condition by enabling them to gain their living by honest and useful toil.

2. The separate administration of their internal affairs must be correspondingly restricted, and their interests must be guarded from the standpoint of the administration applicable to all subjects.

3. All the means of education and progress must be made accessible to them by affording them in this respect all necessary encouragement and stimulus, and making it incumbent upon them to use the vernacular of the country.

4. By combatting their hurtful, petty tricks of trade, and encouraging them to undertake works of public utility, they are to be urged, as much as possible, to engage in agriculture, in manufacture, and in trades, and to live in community with the rest of the population.

The committee wishes to show to the Jews that the government, in solicitously extending its hand to them, does not intend to tear them forcibly out of their present condition, but that in their interest it aims to lead them toward a better, more hopeful life, which will be also of great advantage to themselves; that, by protecting their liberty of conscience, leaving their religion unassailed, and even sparing their prejudices, it has in all its measures only the one end in view, namely, to put their material status on an assured legal basis, and to enable them to partake of the advantages and respect which the other classes enjoy, under the common protection of the laws, of toleration, and of public order."

Source: Archives of the Directing Senate. Imperial ukases of the year 1804, B. 275, fol. 37-53, see Prince N. N. Golizyn, "History of the Russian Legislation Concerning the Jews."

**IV.—Iwan Semenowitsch Timirjasew (1835)**

*Major-General à la Suite, formerly Military and Civil Governor of Astrachan*

It is highly advisable to permit the Jews to settle permanently at Astrachan, both in order to provide this district with efficient artisans, as tailors, shoemakers, jewelers, etc., and to introduce and develop these necessary trades among the native population, as persons of this description are very scarce in this remote region.

Source: From the report of the Governor of Astrachan to the Minister of the Interior, February, 1835. First Complete Code, vol. x., part 2, No. 8481.

**V.—Count Pawel Dimitriewitsch Kisselew (1854)**

*Adjutant-General to Emperor Nicholas I., President of the Committee for Jewish Affairs, Minister of the Domains of the Empire (1837-1855), subsequently Ambassador to France*

A considerable number of Jews—5,877 persons in all—settled during 1854 on government land. At the present time the number of Jewish landowners in the New Russian colonies and in the western governments has increased to 26,686, exclusive of the Jews settled on private estates. The new colonists, who are not familiar with agriculture, can not be expected to succeed at once in farming; there are, however, Jewish colonies which have flourished within a short time. Many Jews have become enthusiastic farmers.

The amalgamation of the Jews with the rest of the population, which the Emperor designated in 1840 as a desirable event, is prevented by the manifold restrictions imposed in the course of time, which contain many con-



traditions when compared with the general laws, and necessarily lead to misunderstandings.

Sources: Extract from the report of the Ministry of the Domains of the Empire for 1854. Supplement to No. 12 of the "Journal of the Ministry of Domains of the Empire," 1855, p. 10. Report of the Imperial State Council on the permission to settle throughout the empire to be granted to the Jewish artisans, confirmed by the Emperor June 28, 1865. Second Complete Code, No. 42264, p. 693.

#### **VI.—Count Sergej Stefanowitsch Lanskoi (1858)**

*Minister of the Interior (1855-1861)*

Justice compels us to say that one of the chief causes of the poverty of the majority of the Jewish communities is to be sought in the legal restrictions that so far have prevented the Jews from mingling with the rest of the population, and have barred their way to education and the betterment of their material condition.

Source: From the report of the Minister of the Interior for the year 1858. Journal of the Ministry of the Interior for the Year 1860, part 41, p. 61.

#### **VII.—Iwan Kondratjewitsch Babst (1859)**

*Professor at the University of Moscow*

Much has been said and written regarding the Jews, their commercial tact, their industry and ability, their condition in the western part of our empire and in White Russia, their relations to the native rural population, and their exploitation of the latter. . . .

But is this the fault of the Jews alone? Are the real causes not to be found in the adverse legislation of all Christian states concerning the already tragic conditions

of the Jewish people that are so clearly before our eyes, startling us by their horror, and making every true Christian shudder? With our mothers' milk we imbibe the notion that the Jew is not our equal, in the same way as every young aristocrat is accustomed from childhood up to look upon his servant Mischka or Wanka as a creature of a lower order whose skin even is constituted differently. And Wanka and Mischka in turn are not reared with the most friendly feelings toward their young masters, Michailo Wassilitsch and Iwan Petrowitsch. This is the origin of the enmity between the classes, of the servility and thievishness of the one and the disdain of the other. . . .

The same may be said of the Jews. So long as the Jew is suppressed, so long as he is conscious of his weakness and the impossibility of freeing himself from the yoke imposed upon him, so long as we Christians do not admit that our Jewish brother is a citizen like ourselves, that he must have the same rights as we, so long he will use all possible means of escaping from that yoke. . . . Exclusively herded together in White Russia and in the western provinces, and deprived of the possibility of extending their commerce, the Jews have here concentrated their entire activity without encountering competition. How can one get on without the Jews? Even the peasant, on being questioned, admits that if it were not for the Jew he would have no opportunity of selling the surplus products of his little farm, and thereby obtaining ready money. If the Jews were forbidden to go from farm to farm, from village to village, from market to market, this would be equivalent to a sudden paralysis of the industrial life of the whole country, which they alone support. If the merchants of Great Russia enter the

country under present conditions in White Russia and the western governments, they would despoil the native rural population if the Jews are deprived of their rights and their commerce is restricted. But are such measures possible, and can any one exercising legally permitted trades be restricted in such wise? . . . The Jews can not be made equal to the other citizens by oppressive measures against the Jewish merchants; such means are possible and comprehensible only in times of barbarity. The legislator must penetrate more deeply into the nature of the social sores that have attacked a whole people or a whole country. Diseases that are rooted deeply in the organism can be cured only with difficulty by external means. . . .

. . . The example of Prussia is especially instructive for us, because we find the Jewish population there spread over a large area, and, moreover, in different stages of education. It clearly appears from the official reports which the government laid before the Parliament in 1847 how beneficial the free institutions have been for the Jewish population, and that the results have been in proportion to the enlargement of the civic rights of the Jews. The province of Posen, whose Jewish population reminds us in many ways of the Jews of the western districts of our empire, furnishes the most striking example of the progress made by this population, morally as well as socially, not in consequence of forcible and oppressive measures, but, on the contrary, in consequence of measures which enlarged the rights of the Jews and awoke in them the feeling of their own dignity and the love for their common country. . . . Not a single provincial government advocated their oppres-

sion; but all admitted that the enlargement of the civic rights of the Jews, which was decreed in the edict of 1812, has had the most happy results. At Breslau and Oppeln the cause of the Jews found friends; Frankfort-on-the-Odor reported that there was no material difference between the lower classes of the Jewish and the Christian population, and that the Jewish children attended school regularly. On all sides the Jews were praised. . . . It must always be remembered that bad and reprehensible qualities in a nation as a whole are the result of general causes rooting in its history. . . . But the barriers separating the Jews from the rest of the population and preventing them from engaging in honorable business are hardly removed when this clever people, endowed with many valuable moral qualities, devotes itself at once with perseverance and incessant diligence to the most various trades and occupations, far outstripping, according to trustworthy witnesses, the rest of the population in moral and mental development. . . .

“If you want to help any sensible and active man in his enterprises,” said one of the representatives of the Prussian people, “will you find it more expedient to dole out to him the money a dollar at a time, or will you give him the entire capital at once, so that he may be in a position to put his whole energies into the business? In my opinion, the latter method is better and more sensible, and this method we must pursue in regard to the Jews. It is our duty to give them, in the form of emancipation, the capital of full civic liberty, in order that they may use it for their own interest and the interest of the entire country.” It is the enviable task of

our time to receive these brothers who have been repulsed for such a long period in consequence of religious and political prejudices; and this task is the more incumbent upon us, since a Jew has already found his way into the English Parliament and has taken his place among the representatives of the free people of Great Britain.

Source: Iwan Kondratjewitch Babst, "From Moscow to Leipsic," Moscow, 1859, pp. 4-11.

#### VIII.—Nikolaj Iwanowitsch Pirogow (1860)

*Professor of Surgery at the Universities of Dorpat and St. Petersburg*

. . . Not only every humane but also every true patriot, must agree with me that it is our duty, as well as to our interest, to sympathize with the emancipation of the Jews. Can we Russians, who have remained free from the prejudices of the Middle Ages, look upon the national weaknesses and faults of the Jews as a serious obstacle to our common human endeavors? Are we not in a position to comprehend that the immorality which appears in the purely material strivings of a people is solely the consequence of its desperate circumstances, which again are conditioned by the past, by the prejudices of bygone centuries? And instead of clinging obstinately to convictions that have become obsolete, is it not more logical to follow the signs of the time and of sound common sense, and to enter upon a new path?

Source: From a letter to the editor of the paper *Dawn*, 1860-1861, No. 27.

## IX.—Peter Karlowitsch Schtschebalski (1860)

*Chief of the Warsaw School Board*

. . . If the law considers the Jews more than heretofore, if they are more humanely treated by the Russian people—which it is the duty of our writers to advocate—and if the Jews themselves are less crowded together, we are convinced that they will be assimilated before long, especially as the educated Jews themselves are beginning to admit the necessity of this assimilation.

. . . . .

I have been deeply pained to read the editorial in No. 19 of the periodical *Denj*. . . . This article refers to the law permitting the Jews who possess diplomas from the higher institutions of learning to enter all the branches of the public service.

Almost the entire Russian press has commented favorably upon this law, which is merely the natural consequence of the measures that we unanimously approved at the beginning of the present government; the *Denj* only is dissatisfied with this law. "A Christian country," says this paper, "that acts in the spirit of its Lord and Master, affords to them (the Jews) a refuge and the possibility of existence, as well as the freedom of internal and civic life. More than this it can not accord. . . ."

What leads the *Denj* to the conclusion that a Christian country can do nothing more for the Jews if it refrains from setting the dogs on them? What limitations in regard to the civic or political rights of any man, of whatever creed or belief, has the paper found in the teachings of Christ? It defames the Christian doctrine which it attempts to defend. . . . What leads

this paper to the conclusion that the Jews preach the destruction of Christianity? Where has it read such statement? We, on the contrary, have seen the wish expressed in the works of the famous Mendelssohn, the reformer of Judaism, and especially in the works of his successors, that the countries in which the Jews are living may become their true fatherland, their physical and spiritual home. We find the same wish expressed in *Zion*, the organ of the Russian Jews, and have been moved on reading Rabinowitsch's story, "The Inherited Candlestick," which is filled with the spirit of forgiveness and love. . . . I may even say: with the spirit of truly Christian love! And what do we see now? The most Christian of our secular journals appears as advocate of the ideas of intolerance and inequality before the law! What a sad sight! What can lead any one to the conclusion that the admission of the Jews to the public service is equivalent to according to them the "place of the Master" in Russia? . . .

Source: *Our Time*, edited by N. Pawlow, 1860, No. 25; 1862, No. 48.

**X.—Count Alexander Grigorjewitsch Strogonow II. (1861)**

*General of the Artillery, Governor-General of New Russia and Bessarabia (1860-1863)*

The continuance of any restrictions of the civic rights of the Jews, whereby they are placed in a more unfavorable position than the Christian population, corresponds neither to the spirit and the tendencies of the time nor to the endeavors of the government to amalgamate the Jews with the native population of the empire; hence I am strongly of the opinion that the Jews should be permitted to live in all parts of the empire, and to

engage in trade and traffic without any restriction, equally with all Russian subjects, as they may elect, according to their customs and abilities.

Source: Second Complete Code, vol. xl., No. 42264, p. 696.

**XI.—Alexander Alexejewitsch Selenoi (1862)**

*Lieutenant-General ; Minister of the Domains of the Empire*

As the trade and industries of western Russia are almost exclusively in the hands of the Jews, and as it is nearly impossible to find other persons able to manage mills and factories, a work that requires certain technical knowledge and practical experience, the decree prohibiting the Jews from leasing mills, factories, and similar establishments on estates seriously embarrasses the new Russian landlords, and it even may lead to the shutting down of several of these establishments—a step that would not only be to the detriment of industry and agriculture in general, but would also affect the settling of Russian landlords in the western provinces.

Source: "Second Complete Code," vol. xlii., part 2, No. 45257, p. 381.

**XII.—Alexander Stepanowitsch Afanassjew-Tschuschbinski (1863)**

. . . The Jews are unusually industrious; there are no loafers among them, but each one has his occupation, and gains his livelihood by work, even if he acts merely as factor. It might appear strange at first sight that such an industrious people, which can even turn a trifle to account, does not care to engage in agriculture, which is the surest means, not only of supporting a family, but also of acquiring a competence. The ex-



planation is easy to give. The really poor devils, won by the government's promise of houses, oxen, land, and traveling expenses, went to the district assigned to them. With a few exceptions, only proletarians went, who lacked all the necessities of life, and had earned a pittance by hard labor. A peasant cabin was built for them, some acres were measured out, and they received cattle, and money for purchasing farming implements. Thus it appeared as if everything had been done for them and all the means placed at their disposal, and all they had to do was to begin farming. But theory and practise do not always agree. On paper the average crops of the new colony, and even the average income of each colonist, could be theoretically determined, the number of the colonists and of the acres being known, and the quality of the soil being taken into consideration. But in spite of the statistics, matters turned out different in reality. It requires hardly less time for a man who has hitherto handled only the needle or the awl to learn how to guide the plow, and to sow, mow, harvest, and thrash, than for an adult tiller of the soil to learn how to make a coat or a pair of boots. I can not say, even, which is more difficult to learn. It is easier to handle the needle or some other similar tool than to engage in the complicated agricultural labors that require physical strength in addition to love, knowledge, and experience gathered since childhood. . . .

Commerce, trade, and industry are the professions peculiar to the Israelitic people, which understands how to double a kopek, and awakens life and activity in any country in which it lives. . . .

The Jews are the only persons who foster commercial

relations in the country, and without them there would be complete stagnation. Now, the peasant has at least an assured market for his products. . . .

If it were not for the closely crowded Jewish population, the fishermen would forget how to cast their nets. The Jews want fish on certain days, no matter what the price may be, while our people manage to get along without fish on the frequently recurring fast-days. . . .

The artisans are, on the whole, steadily employed, and as in Mohilew this class is chiefly composed of Jews, there are no drunkards or disorderly persons among them, such as generally go about our cities on holidays, causing quarrels and fights by their drunkenness and loafing. No blame attaches to the Jews in this respect. . . .

. . . In my opinion, the only way to bring about an approach between both races, and to elevate the Jewish population, is to permit the latter to settle in all parts of the country. If these poor devils, nowadays huddled together in small towns and villages, were permitted to settle wherever they like, many proletarians would willingly go to new homes, where they would awaken the spirit of enterprise and stimulate business; absorbed by the prepondering new elements, they would gradually acquire new qualities and get rid of various faults, which other races, of course, also possess, but which are generally ascribed only to the Jews. The Jews are extremely active competitors; wherever they appear, commodities at once become cheaper, because they go on the principle that a small profit with frequent sales is more advantageous than a higher rate of interest, when the capital lies dormant, awaiting the opportunity of large profits. The latter method is employed by our merchants in the

province. . . . In regard to retail trade, I find no difference between our people and the Jews, and it would be unjust to tax the latter with cheating and swindling, since the same charge can be brought against a large number of our own retail dealers. And as regards the artisans in the province, I should always give preference to the Jews, who invariably furnish better and cheaper work. One must understand how to deal with them. It is generally known, moreover, that our orthodox people likewise ask high prices, not only in the province, but also in the capital, where they do not hesitate to demand a ruble for an article worth not more than ten kopeks, and only when the buyer persistently refuses to pay that sum will the seller accept the correct price, after having exhausted his store of oaths and conjurations.

Source: Afanassjew, *A Journey to Southern Russia*, St. Petersburg, 1861, vol. i., pp. 182, 268, 272; vol. ii., 1863, pp. 24, 209, 251, 381, *et seq.*

### **XIII.—Pawel Ossipowitsch Bobrowski (1863)**

*Director of the Academy of Military Jurisprudence*

The large majority of Jews belong to the poorer classes. Always in need, the Jews of the poor class have to plot and plan how to gain their daily bread. Blessed with many children, they live in small houses in incredibly contracted quarters; often as many as twelve families are herded in a house of three or four rooms, each of which is divided into several small compartments. . . . The life of this class of Jews is one of continual care, deprivation, and anxiety. . . . The poor Jew is differentiated from his wealthy coreligionist by his pallor, languor, lean appearance, and premature age. . . .

The fare of the poor Jewish class is more than slender; whole families sometimes have to be satisfied with a pound of bread, a herring, and a few onions. Their dress is always worn out, frayed, and dirty.

The Jew needs one hundred and sixty rubles a year to support a family of five persons, or nine silver kopeks a day for each person, exclusive of clothing. Our Jew charges seventy-five silver kopeks for making a caftan; he earns on an average from one ruble fifty kopeks to three rubles a week; but he does not earn more than one hundred rubles—or, at best, one hundred and twenty silver rubles—a year, after deducting all the days on which he is unable to work, the holidays, or the days he has lost through illness. The deficiency is made up by his wife, who stands all day in the market with her small wares, leaving her three little children under the care of her husband working at home. With all her labor and her little artifices, she generally does not make more than sixty kopeks, and seldom more than one ruble clear profit; that is to say, she earns only one-fourth as much as her husband can earn under favorable circumstances. Hence man and wife together earn only sufficient to cover the expenses of the household.

Source: Material for the geography and statistics of Russia, collected by Officers of the General Staff, Government of Grodno, vol. i., p. 858; vol. ii., p. 849. St. Petersburg, 1863.

#### **XIV.—Alexander Philippowitsch Postels (1864)**

*Member of the Council of the Ministry of Popular Education*

In closing my report on the state of the Jewish schools, I am forced to the conclusion that, whatever labors and sacrifices the government may undertake in

behalf of the improvement of the state schools, the ultimate purpose of their foundation will not have been attained so long as the Jews remain crowded together within the narrow confines of their present Pale of Settlement and under the present conditions of life. Aside from the fact that this segregation deprives them of the possibility of enlarging the field of their trade and industry, and reduces them to a state of poverty growing worse every day, it also prevents their assimilation with the Russian population, which naturally must be preceded by a mutual approach. But this approach can not take place, as in the majority of the Western governments the Polish element predominates, and in many places the Jews far outnumber the Christians, especially the orthodox Christians. All the endeavors of the government in behalf of the intellectual advancement of the Jews, their liberation from the fetters of superstition, prejudice, and national peculiarities, the betterment of their material condition, and finally their amalgamation with the Russian population, would be accomplished within a short time, without sacrifices on the part of the government and without employing forcible means, if a larger region for settlement were assigned to them, or, in other words, if they were permitted to settle throughout Russia without let or hindrance. . . .

Source: In 1864 Postels was sent by Alexander II. to various governments to investigate the Jewish schools. The official report of this investigation was published in 1865 in the *Journal of the Ministry of Popular Education*, part xxv., supplement, pp. 65-68.

**XV.—Alexander Petrowitsch Beklemischew (1865)***Governor of Mohilew*

Since the introduction of the trade guilds in the cities, towns, and villages of the government of Mohilew, many highly skilled tradesmen were discovered among the Jews, whose work was marked by finish and solidity; but the ability of these craftsmen is of little avail because, in the first place, they do not enjoy the same rights as the craftsmen in the governments of the interior, and, in the second place, their great number is not in proportion to the needs of the poor population here; hence the Jewish artisans not only are not able to display their skill, but they also suffer greatly on account of lack of work, and on receiving a commission they are compelled to have recourse to deceit. In consequence they often become dangerous members of society, while under different circumstances the Jewish artisans would be of benefit to themselves and to society.

Source: Report of the State Council, confirmed by the Czar June 28, 1865. Second Complete Code, vol. xl., part 1, No. 42264, pp. 694, 695.

**XVI.—Report of the Prince A. P. Schirinski-Schichmatow School Commission (1865)**

Report of the commission appointed in 1865 by Prince A. P. SCHIRINSKI-SCHICHMATOW, Curator of the Educational District of Kiew, for the purpose of examining the report of Councillor POSTELS, and for examining and deciding the question whether, and in what way, the Jewish schools may be reorganized.

President of the Commission: M. A. TULOW, Assistant Curator. Members: Prof. W. A. NESABITOWSKY, Dean of the Faculty of Law of St. Wladimir University; G. M. ZECHANOWEZKI, Assistant Professor at the same university;

G. D. SIDORENKO, Assistant Professor at the same university; A. TH. ANDRIASCHEW, Director of the First Gymnasium of Kief; I. I. SLEPUSCHKIN, Director of the Second Gymnasium of Kief, and of the Schools of the Government of Kief; W. W. FEDOROW, former Professor at the Second Gymnasium of Kief.

On discussing the question whether an approach of the Jews to the Russian population be desirable, as regards either the mass of the population or the educated minority, the members of the commission expressed themselves as follows:

W. W. FEDOROW remarked that an approach by means of the schools could only be effected if these schools were attended by a large number of Jewish children. For this purpose it is advisable to release those children who have passed through the elementary schools from the restrictions imposed upon the Jews, which prevent them from becoming full citizens of the realm. G. M. ZECH-ANOWEZKI developed this thought by saying: "The first restriction that should be abolished in favor of those that have passed through the elementary schools is that referring to their sojourn within the boundaries of the governments of western and Little Russia, in case the government should not find it possible to permit all the Jews in general to live in any place throughout Russia."

W. A. NESABITOWSKY agreed with all these statements, adding that "the right of unrestricted settlement within the empire is the first privilege that must be accorded to the Jews." He was of the opinion, however, that "this privilege should be accorded only to those Jews who have passed through a secondary school."

W. W. FEDOROW strongly opposed this view, on the ground that an approach on the part of the Jews could not be expected, nor could they be expected to

consider themselves Russian citizens if a position apart were assigned to them in the state.

The discussion following brought out two different points of view. According to the one point of view, espoused by Messrs. Andriaschew, Slepuschkin, and Fedorow, the exclusiveness of the Jews and their social backwardness, that materially interfered with their civic usefulness, had nothing to do with religion, but was due chiefly to the exceptional position which they occupied and still occupy in the various states. If the Jews, whose whole history, dating back thousands of years, is a history of oppression, persecution, and restrictions, were at once placed in a position equal to that of the rest of the population, with the same duties and the same rights as those of the other citizens, their exclusiveness, which makes them a state within the state, would doubtless long since have disappeared.

The Jew, who occupies a position apart, who encounters at every step restrictions and oppositions that impede his free activity, who has to bear heavier burdens than others without enjoying corresponding rights, naturally tends to remain indifferent toward his surroundings, regarding himself as a being apart and not as a member of the civic organism. Hence originate the bad qualities of the Jews, which are merely the heritage of their former and present position. If the causes are removed, if the restrictions are abolished that impede the Jews in all their fields of activity, then the consequences will also disappear.

If legislation really desires this result, it must cut the knot at once and without hesitation, leaving time to do the rest. Without radical measures no temporary pal-



liatives can remedy the evil, and so long as we advocate restrictions we continue the old policy without being aware of doing so, and cling to the old traditions that have simply been somewhat modified by modern views.

Passing from this general discussion to the question of the right of unrestricted settlement, the advocates of this view did not deem it dangerous to grant these rights to the entire Jewish population, or at least to those who have attended a Jewish and Christian school. They pointed out that in case the Jews should attempt the methods of exploitation practised in the western and southern districts to the detriment of the rest of the population, the population of the governments of Greater Russia would be better able to withstand this exploitation on account of their mercantile and enterprising character. And if this exploitation really is so terrible, why should all the burdens of the same fall only upon a part of the empire?

The president then pointed out that even now the condition of the Jews and their relation to the native population on the right banks of the Dniepr are not the same as they are on the left bank. In the governments of Tschernigow and Poltawa, where the Jews are less densely settled, the estrangement and enmity between the native population and the Jews is less noticeable. More humane relations exist between the peasants and the Jews.

Source: Circular of the administration of the educational district of Kief, 1866, No. 10, pp. 376-382.

**XVII.—Alexander Pawlowitsch Wolkow (1865)***Governor of Poltawa*

The Jews in the governments of Little Russia are wholly different from the Jews of the other governments in language, dress, and customs, and have become almost entirely fused with the native population. In my opinion, therefore, all the existing restrictions relating to the Jews in the governments of Little Russia should be immediately repealed. . . .

Source: Second Complete Code, vol. xl., part 1, No. 42264, pp. 694, 695.

**XVIII.—Count Peter Andrejewisch Schuwalow (1865)***Lieutenant-General, Deputy-Governor of Livland, Estland, and Courland;  
later, Chief of Police,*

. . . deems it to the interest of the Baltic provinces that the right of unrestricted settlement throughout the empire be granted to the Jews.

Source: Second Complete Code, vol. xl., No. 42264, pp. 696, 697.

**XIX.—Sergej Wassiljewitsch Maximow (1868)**

The exiles lend in general certain peculiar and novel traits to the life of the colonists. . . . Where Jews have been settled, there is great commercial activity. . . . The Jews have quickly transformed Kaïnsk into a town similar to many in the western district of the Russian Empire; they have transformed a small town without any business whatever, lying quiet and secluded like all the Siberian towns, into a noisy and lively commercial center. A market was erected in an open square, and booths sprang up like mushrooms, in which

the Jewish women displayed their wares. . . . The Jews have succeeded in making Kaïnsk one of the chief marts for furs, especially squirrel tails, which are sent beyond the frontier, as far as the fair of Leipzig. Hence there are about seventy merchants among the seven hundred inhabitants of this little town ; to every ten Russians there is one Jew, who is engaged in the fur trade, as commissioner or factor, receiving in return for his labors small wares, jewelry, etc., which he peddles at certain times in the markets, villages, towns, and hamlets of western Siberia.

In eastern Siberia the Jews have similarly created an active commerce at Bargusin. . . . Retail business thrives wherever Jews have been settled ; the Jew is an example to the clumsy Siberian, who can learn a good deal from him. The Jew is useful and profitable to Siberia, where he has a large field. . . .

Source: Maximon, *The Unfortunates: Story from the Life of the Exiles*, in *The European Messenger*, 1868, No. 9, pp. 132, *seq.*

#### **XX.—Demetrius (1871)**

*Archbishop of Kherson and Odessa*

We learned with deep sorrow, in the holy days of Easter, how bands of persons calling themselves faithful sons of the Church of Jesus Christ, incited to riot in the public places and streets of the city by seeking quarrels with their fellow citizens, breaking the windows in the Jewish houses, plundering the shops, and committing other depredations, pretending to do these things in the name of our Church and our holy faith, but in reality to the eternal shame and dishonor of Christianity. . . . We are bound by our holy office to explain to the misguided ones how grievously they have sinned

against their true faith and their Church, against our Lord Jesus Christ, and against our pious Czar. . . .

The true glory of the Apostolic Church is not preserved by malice and enmity against those that are astray in the darkness of disbelief, but its members, mindful of the apostolic teaching, must "walk honestly, not in rioting and drunkenness, not in chambering and wantonness, not in strife and envying" (Romans xiii : 13). And now, you who pretend to be zealots in behalf of the honor and glory of Christianity, place yourselves before this mirror of the true children of the Christian Church, by whom the true Church has been glorified in deed on the whole earth—are you not bound to confess, yourselves, that your foolish rage is a disgrace to the Christian faith, a dishonor to the true Church, a grievous insult to the name of Christ, a desecration of the holy day of the Church? Now all disbelievers and foreigners will be justified in mocking us, and saying: "See what their faith amounts to! In their words they are Christians, but in their deeds they are worse than the heathen. See what kind of a true Church they have which suffers and allows such mischief and rage! See how they keep their highest and holiest festivals—by drunkenness, brawls, plunderings, and fights! This, then, is the holy, orthodox Russia, where license, unrestraint, and disregard of the authorities are the order of the day to a degree hardly found among savages, so that people there must be held in check by force of arms, like wild animals! Why do their spiritual shepherds—no doubt they have such—look on idly? Probably they are only blind leaders of the blind, who, without comprehending the power of the Divine Word and the spirit

of Christian faith, themselves advance toward the abyss, leading to perdition the flock entrusted to their keeping." Thus the foreigners and the disbelievers will talk about us; and the word of the Apostle will be fulfilled in our case, that we boast of our true faith while we dishonor God by trespassing His commands: "For the name of God is blasphemed among the Gentiles through you" (Romans ii:23, 24). In the name of the risen Savior who prayed for his crucifiers, I implore you, beloved brethren, banish from your hearts all malice, anger, and bitterness, against whom and for whatever reason it may be! Desist from your evil undertakings, and from the lawless deeds of foolish envy, which is condemned by the Word of God! Bring your contrition for the lawlessness committed by you into the presence of our Lord Jesus Christ, whom you have so deeply offended on His radiant day of resurrection; and humble yourselves in heart in the presence of the Holy Church, which you have so dishonored by your malicious and wild revenge. . . . How can you join in the prayers of the Church with hearts filled with malice, revenge, and anger, with hands soiled by such heinous deeds? How dare you come into the presence of the immaculate Mother of God, the God of mercy and charity, after you have despised the holy commands of her Divine Son, and have pained her mother's heart by your cruelty and bloodthirstiness? We implore you in the name of Christ, we beg you in the name of the Lord, "Make your peace with God."

Source: Pastoral letter to the orthodox population of Odessa, on occasion of the pogrom (massacre of the Jews) of March, 1871. *Kherson Eparchial Messenger*, 1871, No. 8, pp. 131-137.

**XXI.—Father Thomas Jelenewski (1881)***Archpriest at the Cathedral of Elisabetgrad*

Wednesday and Thursday of the Easter week of this year were darkened by sad events in our city. People are ashamed even to speak of what occurred in our streets on these days. People are ashamed that persons who pretend to be followers of the resurrected Redeemer Jesus Christ could think of destroying the houses of the Jewish citizens and plundering their possessions. How sad, how regrettable! Peaceable citizens are suddenly transformed into a horde of pitiless murderers and robbers. And whom have they attacked? Their own fellow citizens, who, altho they differ in their faith with us, yet live peaceably among us, under the protection of the same civic laws! Such action can not pass unproved; then submit, oh! my brothers, to censure and reproach for this behavior unworthy of a Christian. By this behavior we have, in the first place, assailed the sanctity of our greatest festival, the resurrection of Christ. The resurrected Savior has not commanded us to act thus. He has, on the contrary, given us the holy command to love our neighbor, whoever he may be, like ourselves. . . . Yet we have proved sinners against the commands of Christ by these wicked deeds unworthy of a virtuous person. In the second place, by our behavior against our Jewish fellow citizens on this sublime festival, we have dishonored the sacred and unforgettable memory of our late Master and Emperor, Alexander II. Nikolajewitsch. This great humanitarian was always considering during his reign how to make all his subjects—Christians, Jews, Mohammedans, and

even pagans—equal before the law. And we have also grievously offended our most gracious Master, the most pious Emperor Alexander III. Alexandrowitsch. Is it so long ago that we have sworn fealty to him and have expressed our willingness to aid him in the removal of the sore that is spreading more and more in our country, leading to general chaos? Hardly a few days have passed, and we upset public order, and create disturbances and even rebellion in our midst! What folly, what lack of moral and civic feeling! All the sons of Russia, of whatever faith they may be, are brothers among one another because they have in God one Father in heaven, and in the most pious Emperor one father on earth. Therefore, if we desire our own happiness, we must live together as children of one large family in peace, love, and unity.

Do not be offended, my brethren, if I use the word “we” in speaking of the originators of those disturbances, altho no one among those present here may have taken active part in them. I speak thus because we all have contributed to this deed, altho we did not take part personally. We have become implicated because we were indifferent spectators of the crimes committed by the mad plunderers and destroyers. Tell me, who of us has fearlessly raised his voice in order to restrain the mad populace in its excesses and teach it to do better? For there were more indifferent spectators than destroyers. This indifference constitutes our guilt. Let us actively assist the authorities in uprooting this evil, and let us make up for the rest, according to the command of the Lord, by our brotherly love, that knows no difference between Christian, Jew, or pagan, but is lenient

and patient toward all because it sees the rational soul in all men, and recognizes them as God's creatures. My brethren, be merciful to all as your Father in heaven is merciful, who bestows life upon Christians as well as Jews and pagans.

Source: From the discourses of the clergy of the Kherson bishopric, on occasion of the anti-Semitic riots. Supplement to the *Kherson Eparchial Messenger*, 1881, No. 12, pp. 304-307.

**XXII.—Father Simeon Podgorski (1881)**

*Priest in the Village of Beikusch, Diocese of Kherson*

People sometimes hate one another bitterly because they are not of the same faith. But such are not the doctrines of the Word of God, which teaches us that all men have been created equal in the image of God. Worse than all, false views regarding the Jews have produced such enmity that Christians have committed deeds unworthy of Christians as well as of citizens. Doubtless you have heard various reports how, in some places of Russia, the Jews have been attacked, and their property plundered and destroyed. Why did this happen? Because, say the perpetrators, the Jews have crucified Christ. But is this Christian? It is not only unchristian, but also inhuman. We call ourselves Christians—that is, followers of the Divine teachings of our Lord Jesus Christ. But has Christ taught us to commit rapine, murder, and other crimes, such as the Russians have committed against the Jews? The rumor that it is permitted to strike down the Jews is a shameless lie, invented by the enemies of Russia.

The plunderers also justify their crimes by saying that the Jews have seized the land, the commerce, and the



capital of the country, so that the Russians are in the power of non-Christians, from which they can escape only by destroying the latter's property. But if the Jews have become richer than the Russians, whose fault is it? Has the mob in its madness considered this? Whoever observes without prejudice the life of the Russians can assert truthfully that it is chiefly the fault of the Russians if they are poorer than the Jews. Are there as many drunkards and idlers among the Jews as there are among the Russians? Are there many Jews entirely without employment? Russian loafers are found in the saloons and on the streets even in harvest time. Whose fault is it that the Russians are poor in consequence of their laziness and drunkenness? Is it the fault of the Jew? He works and saves and owns property, while the Russian is intemperate and lazy, and therefore does not possess anything.

But he must eat and dress, and has to pay various taxes. Impoverished by his laziness and drunkenness, the Russian is forced to go to the Jew, begging him to satisfy his most urgent needs; and the Jew does not deny his request, but gives him bread and clothing on credit. The well-to-do Russian does not help the poor devil impoverished by drink so readily as the Jew always does. Many Russians in reduced circumstances know this only too well. . . .

Who has told to the riotous mob the wicked lie that it is permitted to strike down the Jews? As the riots broke out simultaneously in many places in Russia, at a time when the machinations of the enemies of public order were reaching alarming proportions, the thought lies near that these riots were not caused by religious

hatred or by the economic superiority of the Jews, but were instigated by the enemies of the state, of society, and of the Holy Church. The furious mob appears simply as their blind tool. But the inciters of the mob hide behind the foolish people, make use of their false notions regarding the Jews, and stimulate the religious hatred of the people while they have entirely different ends in view; they want to accustom the people to disorders, diminish their respect for persons and property, and confuse their minds for the purpose of upsetting the existing order of things. They are the same wicked persons who plunged Russia into shame and disgrace by the bloody crime of the 1st of March (assassination of Alexander II.).

Source: Supplement to the *Kherson Eparchial Messenger*, 1881, No. 12, pp. 313-317.

### XXIII.—Father Simeon Kutscherewski (1881)

*Archpriest of the War Department at Simferopol*

We are passing through grievous times! The unexampled crime of the 1st of March, which has brought untold sorrow to the entire Russian people, has deprived all truly honorable souls of peace for many days to come; and now immediately after this a new misfortune breaks in upon us, like a thunderbolt in a clear sky, no one knows whence: bloody violence, and plundering of Jewish property, to which the people has been incited by the same hidden powers that have also had a hand in the murder of the Czar.

We have read, not without a feeling of sadness, the reports of eye-witnesses relating to the madness and crimes of the deluded populace, that has dishonored the

honest Russian name before the entire civilized world by the lawless deeds that were committed in the governments of Kief, Tschernigow, Poltawa, and Kherson. The massacre of the Jews there was so terrible that nothing like it has happened since the darkest period of the Middle Ages, when the people were still in a state of semi-barbarity. Wild animals are not so inimical to one another as the otherwise kind-hearted, gentle, hospitable Russian people, incited by wicked atheists, behaved toward their own countrymen. And why? It does not even know. . . .

May one covet a stranger's property, to whatever people or belief the owner belongs? Whose fault is it that many of us who are orthodox can not save the hard-earned kopek, while the Jews are able to do so? Tell me: Who forces many of us to carry the kopek, earned with the sweat of the brow, to the Jews in the saloons and other improper places? . . . Whose fault is it, therefore? Remember the command which God has given from the top of smoke-covered Sinai: "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's house, nor his ass, nor his ox, nor anything that is thy neighbor's." What does the Lord enjoin in this command? He commands that one shall not look enviously upon the prosperity of one's neighbor, of whatever belief he may be, but shall rejoice in his welfare; that one shall not covet a stranger's property, but shall protect it for the public benefit. . . .

Do not believe these atheists, these mad baiters. They are a nest of vipers. . . . The Lord shall not suffer them; they shall not escape God's anger. Even now they are cast off by God and by all good, honest men. Altho some of them call themselves Christians, the Holy

Church excommunicates this kind of Christians; tho they call themselves Russians, entire Russia turns from them as from the plague. . . .

Source: From a sermon delivered in the garrison church of the Twenty-first Lithuanian Infantry Regiment, at Simferopol, May 17, 1881. See *Tawridal*, 1881, No. 40.



#### **XXIV.—Alexander Alexandrowitsch Kawelin (1881)**

*Major-General in the Emperor's Staff, Governor of Tauria*

The disturbances in some places directed against the Jews, as well as the dissemination of various malicious and unfounded reports, are unfortunate recent occurrences here in southern Russia. All faithful subjects of the Emperor should remember that the Russian, the Jew, the German, or the Tartar are all equally dear to the Czar of all the Russias; they all are subjects of the one Czar; they all are inhabitants of Russia, and all are equally under the protection of the law. The various anti-Semitic reports are spread by persons who are indifferent to the welfare and peace of their country.

Source: From a letter of the Governor of Tauria, of March 6, 1881 to the Archbishop of Tauria. *Taurian Eparchial News*, 1881.

#### **XXV.—Makarius (1881)**

*Metropolitan of Moscow and Kolomna (1879-1882), formerly Archbishop of Lithuania and Wilna*

“Take heed that no man deceive you” (Matthew xxiv:4). As in all times, so especially now, beloved brethren, we must faithfully observe this command of our Savior. So many deceivers now appear among us! And these deceivers approach especially those persons whom they can most easily lead astray—youths who are not yet settled in their convictions and are easily carried away,

and the plain people who have little education or are entirely ignorant. And to what terrible consequences do these temptations and seductions lead ! We have a living example before us. You have heard what is taking place, or happened but a little while ago, in some of the cities and villages of southern Russia; how our unhappy people, led astray and incited, rose up in large numbers against the Jews, demolished their houses, plundered and destroyed their property and possessions, and did not even spare their synagogs. This was the work of people who call themselves faithful Christians, the work of the sons of Russia ! What a shame and disgrace !

Are these the teachings of the true faith in Jesus Christ ? Are such deeds worthy of Russian subjects who are loyal to their Emperor and their country ? . . .

If we love only our relations and kinsmen, those of our family and our faith, we do not display much Christianity; for such love of one's neighbor is also found among non-Christians. Love, rather, all men without distinction, whether they are near to you or not, of whatever origin of faith they may be, either Christians of another confession, or Jews, Mohammedans, or pagans. . . . Judge for yourselves, oh ! true believers, how grievously those among our brethren sin against our holy faith, who rise up against the Jews, excited by passion or through ignorance, and ruthlessly destroy their property. How deeply these unhappy persons offend even Him, the Alpha and Omega of our faith, Jesus Christ, who is all mercy and all love, and has commanded us to love all men ! . . .

But this is not yet all that our deceived brethren have done. As sons of Russia they have also offended against

their sovereign and their country. A short time since we swore by God Almighty and His Holy Gospel faithfully to serve our true and hereditary Master and Emperor, to obey him always and in everything, to observe his decrees and commands, to be subject to the magistrate appointed by him, to perform our civic duties conscientiously, not to trespass upon the rights of our fellow citizens, and thus to contribute to the best of our ability to the general welfare and prosperity of our beloved country. But what are those Russians about who for no reasons rise up against the Jews, trespass upon their rights, and plunder or destroy their property? For the Jews, like the Russians, and all the other peoples within the boundaries of the Russian Empire, are subjects of our Emperor and are our fellow citizens, sons of the same Imperial Father, and our countrymen. How dare we raise our hands against those who are our brothers before the law and the state, of whatever faith or origin they may be? These ignorant and excited persons think they are injuring only the Jews by their foolish attacks on them and their property, while in reality they are also destroying themselves and their families. And they not only injure themselves, but also society and the state. This illegal movement, whether directed against the Jews or any other of our fellow citizens, inevitably destroys public peace and order, paralyzes and injures all commerce and industry, and all the functions of public and civic life; it confuses and disturbs the people, and causes general tribulation and sorrow.

Source: Sermon delivered May 17, 1881, in the large Uspenski Cathedral. *Moskow Church Messenger*, 1881, No. 21, pp. 291, 292.

**XXVI.—Boleslaw Petrowitsch Lenski (Ongirski) (1881)**

Malice is, in general, foreign to the character of the Jew, who, on the contrary, is always gentle and yielding, and shows good will rather than outspoken hatred or malice. . . . The majority of the Jews do not possess much capital; each of them has only enough to circulate in a small way, and this circulation must therefore take place quickly and promptly, in order that he may have a small profit just sufficient for his subsistence. . . .

Many persons who have written on the habits and customs of the Jews, from a superficial acquaintance or from hearsay, have asserted that exploitation on the part of the Jews could not be suppressed because they had collected immense sums which they kept, and had formed among themselves a joint association entirely hostile to the Christian population. There is not a shred of truth in this assertion; the Jews neither possess this immense amount of capital, nor are they banded together in an association. . . . Large manufacturers and merchants and purveyors of the first order form only a small percentage among them. . . . It is also incorrect to assert that the Jews are associated together in their trade and traffic, and that they act in agreement with a certain secret compact or understanding. It is true enough that the whole mass of the Jews appears as one single person, but this is due to the fact that all the Jews are living under the same conditions. All of them are semi-beggars, have no political rights, and are confined in the same quarter. . . . Mutual helpfulness is also well developed among them, and philanthropy is

widely practised; but it is a far cry from this to solidarity of action in trade and traffic. . . .

While covetousness pervades the dealings of the Russian *kulak* (retail dealer), the very poverty of the Jew speaks in favor of his relative honesty. The *kulak* acquires wealth, while the Jewish "exploiter" remains in the same state of semi-starvation. No one can deny that there is a difference between money-making on a full stomach, for the mere sake of gain, and money-making to satisfy the cravings of hunger. . . . And it is an undeniable fact that many of the Jewish "exploiters" vegetate in misery. Any one acquainted with the towns of Lithuania and White Russia knows what Jewish poverty means. The condition of the small traders and artisans who do not own their houses is especially pitiable. Their diminutive, ramshackle huts hardly seem like human habitations. . . . Any peasant family lives more comfortable and cleanly. The food of the Jews is unusually meager. . . .

Source: Lenski, Jew and Kuluk, an economical parallel in *The Deed*, 1881, No. 9.

#### XXVII.—Nikanor (1884-1886)

*Archbishop of Kherson and Odessa*

#### I

It is clear that we Christians are brothers of Israel in spirit. Jesus Christ has bequeathed to His Church the history of the Old Testament as holy history. He has also bequeathed to it the Old Testament dogma as divine truth, by adding only the doctrine of the Trinity, to which there are many references in the Old Testament revelation. He has furthermore bequeathed to His



Church the entire Old Testament code of ethics as a holy possession, merely expounding more in detail and emphasizing the sublimity of the doctrine of love and purity of heart, already found in the Old Testament. Jesus Christ not only observed all the commands of the Old Testament faith, but He also transmitted to the New Testament Church many of the Old Testament customs—more than many of you imagine. Thus all the sacred books of the Old Testament are also held sacred and read in the New Testament Church. The holy Psalms, as well as the other holy chants of the Old Covenant, are sung in our churches as they were formerly sung in the Old Testament temple at Jerusalem. The Old Testament psalms and songs, prayers and prophetic utterances became the foundation for all the hymns and prayers of our Christian ritual. . . .

With the cooperation of the children of Israel, the Russians of Jewish faith, this sacred house of God has been erected, to the honored memory of the blessed Czar and martyr, the Czar and liberator, the great Emperor Alexander II., for the praise of our only and common God and preserver, for the religious and moral education of Christian children in the Christian spirit, as well as a memorial of the children of Israel to God, to the faith of their holy patriarchs, and to pure morality, which contributes to the well-being of every person, to the prosperity of peoples, and to brotherly love among them. Our mutual approach is also evident from the fact that in view of the sacred history common to both from the foundation of the true Church down to the advent of Christ, the common creed of the fundamental dogmas of faith, the common essential ceremonies, even the com-

mon moral doctrines, not only in their general principles but also in the details of their revelation, our Jewish fellow worshipers are beginning to accept as basis of their actions the code of ethics as expressed by Jesus Christ in His sublime teachings found in the Sermon on the Mount and generally in His Gospels. The best among the contemporary Israelites, as well as their spiritual leader and their teacher in our city, speak now of the equal rights of Jews and Christians to the inheritance of the Kingdom of Heaven, the relationship of all peoples as children of the one Heavenly Father, and the brotherly love that is a sacred duty for the Jew as well as the Christian.

Source: From the edificatory sermon delivered on Thursday of the sixth week of the great fast. Supplement to the *Kherson Eparchial Messenger*, 1884, No. 8, p. 229, *et seq.*

## II

[*On occasion of the excesses against the Jews at Odessa, on the second day of Easter, 1886*]

It is entirely contrary to the spirit and the intentions of the doctrine of Christ to indulge in excesses. He who cares only for his own family and for those of his own faith is in a very low stage of Christian perfection, even if he fully performs his duties toward them. A much higher stage of Christian perfection is reached by the person who includes in his love not only his own family and those of his own faith, but also strangers and those of a different faith. The good Samaritan is in this respect the Christian ideal. Christ himself has presented to us this Samaritan as an example. He is a true Christian

who acts like this Samaritan. But by what name shall we call the man who does just the opposite thing, who beats and persecutes a person of different faith, and destroys his property and possessions? Such a man evidently is no disciple and servant of Christ, but a professor of the unchristian spirit, and a servant and follower and warrior of God's enemy Antichrist. . . . Act like the good Samaritan, have pity with the heterodox, help him in his distress and sorrow, and thy God will help thee also. Thou shalt love not only thy people as thyself, but also every heterodox person, and even thy enemies. If thou dost fight for God and Christ with knives, hedge-poles, and fists, then remember, that he who uses a knife shall perish by the knife. Remember—and it is still within your memory—that as long as our faith was firm, we faithful Christian Russians lived in peace together with the Jews. We lived among the Jews, and the Jews lived among us, and every one lived in peace. But when faith was shaken among the people, when the morals of the people became affected, then these unfortunate acts of violence began. They are not of native, not of Russian, not of Christian origin. They first began beyond the frontier, in western Europe. There the disseminators of anti-Christian ideas incited the people to attack the Jews. Thence this plague also spread over our frontiers and seized upon the weakest elements of the Russian people—the weakest in education, in morality, and, as recent events have unfortunately shown us, also the weakest in faith. Or can a sane person believe that the heterodox may be felled, and that the religion of Christ will permit this? By no means; but the heterogenous mob in its cruelty, madness, and

rage is of this opinion—a blind horde that no longer hearkens to the religion of Christ. To such deeds the people are incited by the disseminators of anti-Christianity. Can any sane person believe that the Church of Christ would give its blessing to such an outbreak on a sublime Christian festival? By no means; but on such a festival we Christians shall send out light and peace and joy to all the corners of the earth. Believe me, my beloved, this rage has arisen at the throne of Satan. . . .

Source: From an edificatory sermon delivered on Wednesday of Easter week. “Dialogues and Edificatory Sermons by Nikanor, Bishop of Cherson and Odessa.” Second edition. Odessa, 1887. Vol. iv., p. 266, *et seq.*

#### XXVIII.—Makarius (1884)

*Archbishop of Nowotscherkask and the Don District*

When I received the news of the terrible occurrences of June 7th, on my trip of inspection through the archbishopric, I at first would not credit the report, and then I exclaimed, sighing, and with tears in my eyes over this beloved Nishni-Novgorod: Art thou the city that wert so well known and famous above other cities? Art thou the one that may boast of the descendants of the great citizen Minin? Art thou the one which is praised in the chronicles because of the deeds of its ancestors, these splendid patriots? Art thou the one that has received so many benefits from the Czar of Heaven and the Czar of this earth? Hast thou forgotten all these things, and wilt thou no longer be mindful of anything? Hast thou not sat in judgment on the Mongols and the Ljachs because of their devastations and their

massacre? Hast thou not in the last Turkish war reproved the bashi-bazouks for shedding Christian blood? Hast thou not sighed for thy brethren who were tortured by our enemies, the Turks? And now the time has come when thou hast acted no better—nay, even worse—than the godless Turks. They have shed Christian blood in time of war, but thou hast laid hands upon innocent persons of a different faith in midst of peace. They have shed blood like the godless and heathen, but within thy walls faithful Christians were found who did not spare sex or age in their bloodthirstiness. . . .

It was in vain, then, that the Lord created all men of the same blood! In vain that our Savior atoned for and redeemed the whole human race! In vain He suffered for His redemption and died on the cross! And if thou art ignorant of the history of the world and dost not know that all men are descended from a single pair, thou surely dost know of the Christian teaching of love toward all, even toward enemies—a love that admits not only no bloodshed, but not even a simple insult or injury.

And thou, that hast committed murder and destruction, art not only a Christian, a son of the Church, but thou art also a son of thy faithful country, and a subject of the Russian Czar! Hast thou forgotten that all heterodox and strangers are permitted by the Czar to dwell in our country and to enjoy certain rights? Hast thou forgotten that our martyred Czar has bestowed peace and liberty upon all his subjects? Hast thou forgotten that he, the greatest among all earthly benefactors, has ordained all to be equal before science and the law, and all to be subject to military duty? Recall all these benefits, the earthly as well as the heavenly, and weep

for the fate that has overtaken thee and the crime of thy brethren. . . . Let every faithful one seriously consider this event, and draw therefrom a lesson for the entire life! If there is still a spark of faith within thee, if thou hast not been changed entirely to a beast that tears the innocent, then the blood of these inoffensive ones will cry out to thee, and wring from thee tears for the murdered. . . .

Who has called thee to be a judge of thy neighbor? Who gave thee this right and this power? According to human law, thou hast no right to judge and condemn even those that have offended thee, much less mayest thou judge and kill the innocent. . . . Human law lies in the hand of the legal powers, and Divine law with God, the one Lord. What would happen on earth if all men should begin to judge and to act like the robbers and murderers acted on the 7th of this month? One great cry would arise, and there would be inconsolable weeping. No society and no empire can exist that is at war with itself, and in which men attack and murder one another. Examine thyself, thou loyal subject! Thou swore to serve the Czar truly and faithfully. Where is thy oath? Thou hast betrayed God, the Czar, and thy country. Ask all these for forgiveness, thou who art cast off by them for having acted on thine own authority, and take thy deserved punishment. In the persons of the plunderers and murderers, the whole city has been punished by ignominy and shame for its sins. Now the blot must be washed away by repentance and reformation.

Pastors and teachers, to you especially I turn. Impress it upon all and every one that we are the children of the one Heavenly Father; that murder and rapine are for-

bidden for all time, and shall never remain unpunished; that love alone establishes the well-being of men, while hatred destroys it; that arbitrary judgment of others is not permitted to any person, and leads only to the disturbance of public peace; that obedience and compliance with the authorities have been at all times, and will always remain, the foundations of our happiness and our well-being.

Source: From the pastoral letter to the inhabitants of Nishni-Novgorod, on occasion of the massacres of the Jews, June 7 and 8, 1884. *Nishni-Novgorod Eparchial Messenger*, 1884. Supplement to Nos. 12, 13.

**XXIX.—Natalia Petrowna Uwarowa, nee Princess Gortschakow  
(1888)**

Drunkenness, this scourge of the northern peoples, is entirely unknown among the Jews; they are extremely abstemious in their food, and the custom of early marriage preserves them from illegitimate connections and other errors. . . . The evil that we ascribe to them is the work of our own hands; the good that we must admire in them, they owe to themselves. . . . If the Jews had only one-fourth of our faults, their name would long since have disappeared from the face of the earth.

Source: Uwarowa, "Jews and Christians." Moscow, 1888. Second edition, pp. 17, 20, 37, 39.

**XXX.—Collective Protest Against the Kishinef Massacres by  
Russian Writers (1903)**

Leo Tolstoy, Prince A. I. Sumbatov, K. Khristoforov, Professor Emeritus N. Storozhenko, Professor I. Ozeroy, A. Gaidring, C. T. Trubetskoi, V. Vernadski, N. V. Davidov, L. Zabelin, D. Yegorov, and G. Umoy.

Shocked to the depths of our souls by the terrible

events which recently took place at Kishinef, with broken hearts we express our sympathy for the innocent victims (who became the spoil of the beast of prey living in the soul of the mob), our feelings of horror for the brutal deeds committed by Russians, and our boundless contempt for all those who prepared and incited the mob to those disorders, and generally for all those who took part in them.

Source: Telegram sent to "Odesskiya Novosti."

#### XXXI.—Count Kutusov (1903)

You must confess, you nationalists, full of chauvinism and of heathen prejudice, you who work in the name of Christianity, that now you can not look straight into the face of real Christian love and principles. You must agree that you have not entered the state of brotherhood and humanity without regard to race and religion. Why lie, then? Say, plainly: "We exchanged and sold Christ and His teachings." By your barbaric and shameful behavior you have besmirched and bespitted the once pure and noble name of Christian.

Source: *Otechestvo* (periodical).

#### XXXII.—Maxim Gorky (1903)

Russia has been disgraced more and more frequently of recent years by dark deeds, but the most disgraceful of all is the horrible Jewish massacre at Kishinef, which has awakened our horror, shame, and indignation. People who regard themselves as Christians, who claim to believe in God's mercy and sympathy, these people, on the day consecrated to the resurrection of their God



from the dead, occupy the time in murdering children and aged people, ravishing the women, and martyring the men of the race which gave them Christ.

Who bears the blame of this base crime, which will remain on us like a bloody blot for ages? We shall be unable to wash this blot from the sad history of our dark country. It would be unjust and too simple to condemn the mob. The latter was merely the hand which was guided by a corrupt conscience, driving it to murder and robbery. For it is well known that the mob at Kishinef was led by men of cultivated society. But cultivated society in Russia is really much worse than the people who are goaded by their sad life, and blinded and enthralled by the artificial darkness created around them. The cultivated classes are a crowd of cowardly slaves, without feeling of personal dignity, ready to accept every lie to save their ease and comfort—a weak and lawless element, almost without conscience and without shame, in spite of its elegant exterior.

Cultivated society is not less guilty of the disgraceful and horrible deeds committed at Kishinef than the actual murderers and ravishers. Its members' guilt consists not merely in that they did not protect the victims, but in that they rejoiced over the murders; it consists chiefly in permitting themselves for long years to be corrupted by human fiends, who have long enjoyed the disgusting glory of being the lackeys of power and glorifiers of lies, like the editor of the *Bessarabetz*, of Kishinef, and other publicists. Those are the real authors of the disgraceful and awful crime of Kishinef. To all the shameful names hitherto given to these repulsive men must be added another, and the well-deserved one, of "instigators

of village murder." These hypocrites, with the name of God on their lips, who preach in Russian society hatred of the Jews, Armenians, and Finns, to-day heap base and cowardly calumnies upon the corpses of those killed through their influence, and they shamelessly continue their hateful work of poisoning the mind and feelings of the weak-willed Russian society.

Shame upon their wicked heads ! May the fire of conscience consume their decayed hearts, covetous only of lackeylike honors, and slavishly obsequious to power.

It is now the duty of that Russian society that is not yet wholly ruined by these bandits, to prove that it is not identified with these instigators of pillage and murder. Russian society must clear its conscience of part of the shame and disgrace by helping the orphaned and desolated Jews, and assisting those members of the race which has given to the world many really great men, and which still continues to produce teachers of truth and beauty, in spite of its oppressed condition in the world.

Come, therefore, all who do not want themselves to be regarded as the lackeys of the lackeys, and who still retain their self-respect—come, and help the Jews.

### XXXIII.—Professor A. S. Subotin (1903)

*Member of the Pahlen Commission which was appointed in 1886 by the Russian government for the study of the Jewish Question.*

*I. Cause of the Persecution of the Jews.*—Councillor Bloch has, with acute insight, stated the true cause of the persecution of the Jews in modern times to be, not religious prejudice, nor racial hatred, nor the sordid fear of competition, nor, least of all, the alleged vileness of the

Jews, but solely their weakness. Whoever is weak and helpless, unable to protect himself and dependent on the protection of others, is in danger of the cowardly attacks of those who do not dare to approach the strong. The ringleaders in the great Jewish disturbances in Russia at the beginning of the '80s of the last century were not the "terribly fleeced" peasants of the localities in question, but foreign laborers from Greater Russia, who had never before seen a Jew, and therefore had never been injured by one. The disturbances, moreover, broke out in the larger cities, while the towns and villages where the "fleeced" peasants were living at first remained passive. The riots took place, not because the Jews were accused of having preyed upon the population, but because the people had been excited to murder and plunder by a number of Jew-baiters, who persuaded the mob that the government would not protect the Jews any longer, and that the Czar had delivered them up to the mercy of his "beloved, faithful Russians." Order was restored as soon as the government interfered. It is noteworthy, moreover, that there were no disturbances whatever in the military district of Wilna, where Count Tottleben announced that any attempts at riot would be forcibly suppressed.

*II. The Jews and the Russian Peasant.*—In 1843 Russia set apart a zone (known as the Pale) for the Jews. The *Novoje Vremja* inquired in a recent article: "What more do the Jews want than to live in a territory larger than France?" The answer is simple: The Jews of the Pale are only permitted to live in towns, bourgades, and villages set apart for the purpose. They are not allowed to buy, own, or cultivate land. The consequence is that the ac-

tual space occupied by the Russian Jews, so far from being larger than France, is smaller than the smallest French Department. Since 1843 not an inch has been added to the territory set apart for the dwelling-place of the Jews, in spite of their natural increase. The entire Pale, comprising 944,707 square kilometers (*i.e.*, 1-23 of the Russian Empire) and numbering (in 1897) 4,871,636 Jews, in a total population of 42,526,590 inhabitants, is divided into the following fifteen governments: Wilna, Witebsk, Grodno, Kovno, Minsk, Mohilev, Volhynia, Kief, Podolia, Poltava, Tchernigov, Bessarabia, Yekaterinoslav, Crimea, and Kherson.

The Jews living within this Pale, asserts State Councilor Bloch, not only do not prey upon the population in the midst of whom they live, but they contribute, on the contrary, to their material and moral well-being. In proof of this statement, Bloch quotes statistics from the thirty-five governments closed to the Jews, comparing them with data gathered from the governments within the Pale. The result of this comparison is striking. In the thirty-five governments "clear of Jews," the peasants pay to the government a yearly redemption sum at the rate of 4.7 per cent. for their fields, that formerly belonged to the landlords, while the peasants within the Pale are able to pay at the rate of 5.6 per cent. The increase in population in fourteen governments, with a large Jewish population, amounted in the twenty years between 1858 and 1878 to 31.5 per cent., while in the eleven governments adjoining the Pale it amounted to only 20 per cent. The population of the villages within the Pale has correspondingly increased by one-third, and that of the cities has been doubled in comparison with

the other governments of Russia. The favorable condition of the peasants is furthermore confirmed by statistics furnished by A. Malschinski, who has studied the same in fifteen governments, including Poland and the Pale, and compared it with that of the peasants in the other parts of European Russia. The description "very prosperous" applies to 9.5 per cent. of the peasants within the Pale, and to 0 per cent. outside; that of "very well off" applies to 23.9 per cent. within the Pale, and only 0.5 per cent. outside; that of "well off" applies to 48.1 per cent. within the Pale, and to 13.8 per cent. outside; the description "not satisfactory" applied to 18.5 per cent. within the Pale, and to 66.2 per cent. outside; and the description "badly off," finally, applies to 0 per cent. within the Pale and to 19.4 per cent. outside. Within the Pale, therefore, no peasant is really badly off, whereas, while placed in the governments where there are no Jews, there are no peasants who are really prosperous, nearly one-fifth are badly off, and the large majority of 66 per cent. is not well off. In consequence of their more favorable material condition, the peasants within the Pale are superior in their manners and morals to the peasants in the interior of Russia. Bloch has, indeed, gathered together statistics to show that crime, drunkenness, and other consequence of poverty are much less in evidence within the Pale than outside.

*III. The Jew as Merchant.*—Altho the Pahlen Commission has determined that the Jews within the Pale constitute 55.5 per cent. of all the merchants, their commerce covers only 47 per cent. of the entire commerce of that region. This is due to the poverty of the Jews,

which compels the majority of the Jewish merchants to confine themselves exclusively to retail business. While among the non-Jews only 1 person in every 600 is engaged in business, 1 in every 120 among the Jews is an independent merchant. Many of these Jewish merchants earn barely one ruble (50 cents) a day, and they are able to subsist only because they buy direct from the manufacturer and sell immediately at a small profit. Hence from the standpoint of the consumer—*i.e.*, the majority of the Russian people—the Jewish merchant is a benefactor, because through his agency the necessities of life are materially reduced in price. The Jewish merchant is also of great benefit to the producer, for he not only furnishes the peasant with commodities at a reasonable rate, but also purchases his product at a good price to sell elsewhere. The Jewish merchants also carry on the foreign commerce, and the sum of Russia's exports and imports would be immeasurably increased if the Jews were permitted to live unrestrained throughout the empire.

Bloch has illustrated by a striking example the benefits which the Jew confers upon the small producer. In the government of Nijni-Novgorod there is a village, Pawlowo, numbering several thousand families, who support themselves by home industries. Down to 1889 these people were little better than the unfortunate slaves of some Russian capitalists, who exploited the peasants for a mere pittance. Then some Jews appeared upon the scene, and they paid a high price for the handiwork of the villagers. The Russian capitalists thereupon brought about the expulsion of the Jews from Pawlowo, forcing the peasants again to sell their work at the former

starvation rates. But the peasants sent a deputation to the Governor, requesting that the Jews be permitted to settle in Pawlowo.

*IV. The Jew as Manufacturer.*—The Russian Jews are not prominent as manufacturers, not having the capital necessary to engage in industrial enterprises. Hence they partake only to the extent of 16 per cent. in industry, altho they constitute more than 42 per cent. of the entire population in the cities within the Pale. That this is due only to the lack of capital is shown by the fact that they engage in industrial enterprises in the inverse ratio of the capital employed therein. The more capital required the fewer Jews are engaged in an enterprise. A Jewish factory in Russia is worth, on the average, 32,000 rubles, while every factory owned by a non-Jew represents a capital of 78,000 rubles.

*V. The Jew as Producing Workman.*—The participation of the Jews in manual labor is an argument against their alleged "fleecing." In 1898, 139,000 Jews were engaged in all branches of agriculture, 176,000 in factories (64,000 of these working by the week and 112,000 working by the day), 450,000 as master craftsmen, journeymen, and apprentices—altogether, 765,000 Jews, who lived exclusively by the work of their hands. If the thousands of Jews are added who gain their living as coachmen, laborers, porters, water-carriers, and unskilled workmen in general, we get the enormous number of 800,000 workingmen. While one Jew out of every 120 is engaged in commerce, one Jew out of every six in Russia is a producer. The majority of the Jews of Russia are not exploiters, but exploited.

*VI. The Jew as an Artisan.*—The Jews are engaged to

the abnormal extent in the crafts. According to the Pahlen Commission, there were 235,000 Jewish master craftsmen and journeymen, and 67,000 apprentices in Russia, and this number has been materially increased within the last seventeen years, since by the May laws of 1882 many thousands of Jews were impoverished and forced to engage in a trade, having no other choice. In 1897 12.4 per cent. of all the Jews in the government of Kovno were artisans, 13.1 per cent. of the Jews in the government of Wilna, and 18.1 per cent. of all the Jews in the government of Grodno. In some districts the percentage of Jewish artisans is enormous—for example, at Schawly, in the government of Kovno, they number 42 per cent., and in the town of Molodetchna even 76 per cent., of all the Jews over 14 years of age.

*VII. The Jew as an Agriculturist.*—There are few Jewish agriculturists in Russia, for the Jews within the Pale are not permitted to live outside of the towns or to acquire land; yet they have succeeded in farming almost on the very pavement of the cities, as is indicated by the large number of Jewish gardeners, vintners, tobacco planters, and nurserymen. And they have also succeeded in acquiring real estate outside of the cities. In Poland, for instance, where they have been permitted to buy land since 1860, the Jews have acquired 292,000 hectares of land down to 1901. In the other fifteen governments within the Pale they acquired altogether 983,000 hectares. To this must be added the 1,120,000 hectares acquired by the Jewish merchants outside of the Pale. Accordingly, the entire landed property owned at present by the Jews in Russia amounts to about 2,936,000 hectares. A large part of this land,



however, consists of inaccessible forests, which are of little value in the hands of Russian landlords, but could be made very productive in the hands of Jews. This landed property, however, is diminutive in comparison with the large Jewish population of Russia. Within the Pale the Jewish ownership of land constitutes only 1.4 per cent. in a Jewish population of 11.7 per cent., and in Poland it constitutes 2.4 per cent. in a population of 14 per cent. The Jewish farmers, moreover, in many cases do not own, but merely lease the land.

State Councilor Bloch shows in a number of statistical tables that the Jews achieve excellent results both as owners and as tenants. Of the 320 large estates in Jewish hands in Poland, 147 yield "excellent" returns, and 103 "good" returns. For these reasons the Pahlen Commission has proposed, with 11 votes against 4, that the Jews should be permitted to acquire and to rent land in "view of the fact that the Jewish tenants pay their rent promptly, and are well-to-do and trustworthy, and that if the Jews are forbidden to lease land, (1) the landlords would be ruined; (2) the people's ability to pay taxes would be reduced; and (3) the economic condition of the Jews would be imperiled."

*VIII. Natural Consequences.*—The anti-Semitic Russian government unfortunately entirely rejected the propositions of the Pahlen Commission, and the distress of the Jews has increased in consequence from year to year in a progressive ratio. I have furnished statistics of the poverty imposed by the Russian government upon an industrious, peaceable, and thrifty people which seems incredible in a civilized state. The expulsion of the Jews from Moscow and other cities, and their systematic

expulsion from the villages, have made nearly a million Jews destitute, and about 70,000 more have lost their means of subsistence by the introduction of the whiskey monopoly. Through the many fires during the summer, which damaged property amounting to millions of roubles a year, the Jews have become so impoverished that they are hardly able to keep their houses in repair, and many of them literally live among ruins.

According to the statistics collected recently by the Jewish Colonization Association, not less than 132,855 Jewish families, numbering 709,000 persons, were obliged in 1898 to apply for the relief known under the name "Moes Chittim." According to the statements of Borodowski, 33 per cent. of the 150,000 Jews of the rich mercantile city of Odessa are absolute proletarians, who do not know to-day whether they shall have bread to-morrow.

Source: Prof. A. S. Subotin's "The Jewish Question in Its True Light" (St. Petersburg, 1903), based on Bloch's "Stravnenie Materialnavo i Nravstvennavo Blagosostoyaniya Guberni Zapadnykh Veliko Rossiskikh i Privislyanskikh." 5 vols.

#### XXXIV.—M. Tugan-Baranowsky (1904)

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The whole European anti-Semitic press points to the fleecing of the Christian population by the Jews as the mainspring of anti-Semitism. But certainly, as regards the anti-Semitic movement in contemporary Russia, its cause is not to be found in the working-man's hatred of the Jew. I have been living for the last two years in a "Little-Russian" village of the Poltawa government. The Jews have the right of free residence in the towns of

the province, but the settlement of new Jewish immigrants in the villages is strictly prohibited by law; in spite of which prohibition there is hardly a village throughout the government without a Jewish colony, whose members had no legal right to settle there. There would be no difficulty in getting such Jews turned out of their various abodes by the police; a mere denunciation of the transgressors to the authorities would suffice; and yet we find thousands of Jews who have for years been living in undisturbed enjoyment among the peasants, each of whom, if he chose to take the trouble, would have it in his power to end in a most abrupt way the friendly intercourse of Jew and Christian. Surely such a fact does not point to the existence of anti-Jewish feeling among the Russian peasantry. Indeed, I may say, from my personal observations, that the attitude of the peasantry toward the Jew is distinctly of a friendly nature; I have been unable to trace any instance of the alleged fleecing of the Christian population by the Jews. In former days—whether rightly or wrongly is an open question—the Jews were reproached with showing too strong an inclination for the profession of publican, whereby they ruined and corrupted the peasant. M. de Witte, in establishing the state monopoly of spirits, has withdrawn from all private enterprise this source of income, so that the treasury is nowadays the sole and mighty publican.

The Jewish usurer is another theme dear to the anti-Semitic press. But the usurer must needs be a wealthy person—a poor devil like the Jewish colonist settled amid the “Little-Russian” peasantry may possibly long for credit; he certainly is not in a position to give it.

The majority of Jews I have personally come across are honest and well-intentioned folk, who work with productive and useful industry. In this region the Jewish usurer is unknown; but we often hear of the usury practised by a few wealthy Russian landowners. Most of the Jewish villagers are either shopkeepers or retail dealers, and there is no doubt but that their modest stalls and trading bestow real benefits upon the indolent peasants, to whom the Jewish middleman spares long and costly journeys for the purchase of necessaries. Other Jews are artisans—cobblers, tailors, smiths, etc. In brief, the Jews form the commercial and industrial element in the rural population of "Little Russia," and their expulsion from the villages would place the peasantry in an awkward situation. This the husbandmen well understand, and they regard the Jews accordingly as a useful portion of the village community. They have no sympathy whatever with the restrictions placed upon the settlement rights of the Jew, since they derive valued profit from the common intercourse. The village schools admit Jewish children along with the Christian, and there are no reports of ill-feeling between the children of the respective denominations. Of course, in the eyes of the peasant, if only by reason of his religious difference, the Jew is no fellow countryman, but an alien, tho not an enemy. The "Little-Russian" peasant considers himself, as compared to the Jew, the latter's superior both morally and in physique, and looks down upon him with a kind of good-tempored irony. He finds the Jew a "rum 'un," scoffs at his loquacity and gesticulations, and indulges in varied and humorous tales of Jewish cowardice, but he feels himself anything but fleeced

or oppressed. I have detected no sign of hatred among the villagers. And yet, in spite of all I have said, the Jew can never feel quite sure that the Russian neighbor, with whom he has been living in friendly intercourse for years and years, will not one day set upon him, rob him of his goods, ill-treat him in every conceivable way, and, perhaps, put him to death. This contradictory state of affairs calls for some explanation.

The Jew may be a "good sort," but, I repeat, to the Russian peasant he ever remains a foreigner, or, what is worse, a follower of the abhorred creed. "Have not the Jews crucified our Lord?" And in Russia more particularly this time-honored and universal source of anti-Semitism can not fail to tell on the popular mind. Still there can be little doubt that religious differences are in themselves quite incapable of rousing the peasantry to such cruel deeds as form the ordinary accompaniment to the sack of the Jewish quarters. I maintain the opinion that despite such differences the customary bearing of the Russian peasant toward the Jew is distinctly of a friendly kind; the Jew is a poor, hard-working, and useful person, and the peasant has no personal reason to hate him. The same can not be said of many Christian landowners, and it is an undisputed fact that the peasantry display more animosity against the wealthy landowners as a class than against the Jews as a class.

Hence, to bring about a sack of the Jewish quarters requires the intervention of some exceptional factor. For instance, the Christian population may acquire the conviction that the Czar is in favor of such a consummation, tho it must be very difficult for a Westerner to understand how such an idea can gain a hold over the

masses. Yet, in truth, the Russian peasantry see nothing unnatural in the idea that the Czar has abandoned this or that social class to the plunderers. Not more than a year ago the peasantry of a certain government were thoroughly convinced that they were acting in full accord with the imperial will in attacking the aristocratic manors. The series of raids on the Jewish population which followed closely upon the assassination of Emperor Alexander II. was directly connected with this event. I was a chance eye-witness of one of these raids, that of Kief. I asked several of the assailants what grievance they had against the Jews, and invariably received the following reply: "The Jews have murdered our Czar." All were unreservedly convinced that, even if the raid had not been formally ordered, it was authorized at any rate; and, truly, what other conviction could they have acquired, considering the conduct of the authorities on this occasion? Of troops there were plenty at hand, stationed in a compact body by the very side of the raging mob; but they looked on in perfect composure and indifference, they made not a single effort to protect the Jews; so the assailants concluded, in all sincerity, that the soldiers had been stationed there, not to shelter the Jews from the fury of the plunderers, but to guard the latter against any resistance on the part of the former.

To-day, once again, the belief is ingrained in the popular imagination that the baiting of the Jews is sanctioned by the government. Apart from this, the origin of the most recent instances of cruelty is pretty clear. The greatest share of the blame rests—and quite legitimately, too!—with the local anti-Semitic press, which, by enlarging on the pretended ritual murder of a Chris-

tian boy in the borough of Dubossary, has, with the aid of wild rhetorical outbursts, stirred up popular rage against the Jews. The conspicuous part played by the Kishinef organ, *Bessarabetz*, in inciting to the subsequent disgraceful scenes, is universally known. The local authorities in Kishinef were perfectly aware of the long-prepared raid on the Jewish quarter, and, as it has since leaked out, encouraged it underhand, while the share of responsibility which lay with the central powers in the matter has, up to date, not been fully elucidated. One fact, however, is clear : the Kishinef authorities took no measures whatever to forestall the sack and massacre of the Jews. The subsequent proceedings of the Russian government—as, for instance, the official reports on the Kishinef and Gomel disturbances—have largely contributed to the spread of the anti-Semitic movement throughout Russia, for these reports strove to throw the initial blame of the disturbances on the Jews themselves, so that the peasants, when they read the papers, naturally see in the official *communiqués* an imperial indictment of the guilty conduct of the Jews toward their Christian brethren. These reports have not failed to arouse feelings of profound resentment throughout the whole Russian people. In my neighborhood, as already stated, the prevalent bearing of the native population toward the Jews is wholly a friendly one. But no sooner had the peasants inferred from the official *communiqués* that the Jews had attacked the Christians, than they began to talk openly about the necessity of raiding the Jews. On a certain day every Jew in the district was trembling for his life and fearful of leaving his abode; a petty squabble between a Christian and a Jew would

then have been quite enough to bring about a general attack on the Jews. Fortunately, nothing of the kind occurred, and things soon resumed their normal course.

I should add, however, that the chief blame for the baiting of Jews does not rest exclusively with the Russian government; far from it. True, the Russian central authorities can afford far better than their colleagues in states that enjoy political liberty to ignore popular pressure—indeed, at this very moment Russian public opinion is sincerely advocating liberal reforms, while the government cling obstinately to their policy of reaction. Yet in one direction at least of Russian policy the government is entirely at one with the exertions of the most influential classes of Russian society—namely, in the hostile policy pursued with regard to the alien nationalities. Russian Nationalism, whose aggressiveness has led to the destruction of Finnish liberties, is not a mere government invention. Deeply rooted in Russian society for many years, it has of late been growing apace. The sudden change of policy toward Finland had been prepared by the Nationalist agitation in the press, and in this particular respect the government did but obey the Nationalist drift of a considerable section of Russian society.

Now, the main effort of the Russian Nationalists has ever been, and continues to be, directed against the Jew. They are not exactly mistaken in regarding him as an element foreign to the nation, and as one who, under no circumstances, can be won over to the conception of an all-Russian supremacy; an element, moreover, which, from their standpoint, is all the more dangerous since it has taken root in the very heart of the Russian national



organism. Undoubtedly it would be difficult to find a greater contrast than the respective racial features of Jew and Russian, and, in my own opinion, the Nationalists are not deceiving themselves when they maintain the impossibility of ever making the Jew into a true Russian of the sound old Muscovite type. But the real backbone of Russian anti-Semitism should by no means be sought for among the rural and laboring classes—who have no grievances against the Jews—it is supplied by the well-to-do classes of Russian society, in particular by the upper and lower middle class, reinforced by a notable proportion of the professional men. A few years ago there was held in St. Petersburg a general congress of Russian artisans, and this assembly showed clearly to what considerable extent the Russian mechanic is imbued with the Nationalist bias, by declaring in favor not only of the maintenance, but of the extension of the restrictions attached to the Jewish rights of settlement—and this for obvious reasons. The Jewish competitor, who works for lower wages, often ruins the Russian artisan, hence the latter's prompt adhesion to Nationalism and anti-Semitism. The tradesmen are in a similar position; their press is equally characterized by Nationalism and hatred of the Jew. Likewise, as regards the Russian contractor, the Semite is his most dangerous and accordingly most hateful competitor, and the same would apply to many lawyers, doctors, writers, journalists, and representatives of the liberal professions, wherein the Jewish competition is very strong. Endowed with unusual industry and perseverance, the Jews gradually supplant their Russian *confrères*, thus forcing the latter to join the Nationalist ranks. It is a fact universally

recognized that the most violent "Jew-haters" are to be found among their unsuccessful rivals.

Of course, even among the educated classes of Russia the Jews number some sincere friends. Russian Liberals can not sympathize with the restrictions placed on the civic rights of the Jew, and it would be well-nigh impossible to single out an anti-Semite among the highest representatives of Russian literature, art, and science. But this consideration does not prevent the overwhelming mass of Russian minds from assuming an attitude anything but friendly toward the Jewish element. As regards the government itself, it is singularly influenced by the Nationalist strata of Russian society. Anti-Semitism is further strengthened in official circles by the fact that in every revolutionary movement the Jews, on grounds which call for no explanation, have taken a large part. On the other hand, a counter-current in favor of the Jews is equally noticeable in the sphere of government. M. de Witte is the very reverse of an anti-Semite, and a few years back went so far as to prepare on the quiet a radical reform in the legal status of the Russian Jew. I have had the opportunity of perusing personally the secret memoir by Witte, wherein he advocated the removal of all legal restrictions pertaining to the civil rights of the Jew within the Russian Empire. The call for so radical a reform was founded by M. de Witte on purely economic motives. The late Finance Minister laid stress on the supreme importance for the general commercial life of Russia, and more especially for Russian trade and industry, of the proposed liberation of the Jew from restrictive measures that seriously hamper his spirit of enterprise. In face of the promi-

ment part played by Jewish capital in the international finance market, and of the dependence of Russia's financial situation on foreign capital, no Russian Minister of Finance can help wishing for a transformation of the present anti-Semitic policy pursued by the Russian government. Yet, altho M. de Witte, at the time he composed the memoir, was the most influential member of the government, his endeavors to improve the legal status of the Russian Jew proved utterly fruitless. Nationalism, then as now, was too strong throughout the country to admit of the possibility of carrying through any such reform.

Source: "Anti-Semitism in Contemporary Russia," in *The Monthly Review*, London, January, 1904.

## VI

**AN AMERICAN EYE-WITNESS:  
COL. JOHN B. WEBER**

THE persecution of the Jews of Russia, recently so hideously emphasized by the Kishinef massacre, should arouse all civilized nations, but more especially the United States, for upon this country will fall the burden of furnishing an asylum of refuge for the surviving victims of racial hatred and religious bigotry.

The problem has confronted us for twenty years, but not until now has it reached a stage so acute that it promises seriously to affect our social conditions, because of the masses of hunted human beings who are fleeing from the barbarous wrath turned loose against them. It is now in order for us to determine whether it is the duty of a liberty-professing, civilized nation to ascertain the underlying causes which force an unfortunate people upon us in a helpless, panic-stricken condition, and to attempt, in a friendly way at least, to stop the movements which periodically occur, and which now threaten to reach a wave of more than ordinary proportions.

The recent outrages in the Jewish Pale can not be said to have come altogether as a surprise to our government. Past experience, as well as official investigation and reports, have made clear the conditions which exist in

Russia, and the effect of such conditions. The recent barbarities in Bessarabia may open the flood-gates anew and pour into our harbors a volume which will make previous records small in comparison. The forerunners of the vast army have already come—those who felt but the first application of the screws that, gradually tightened under official sanction, have culminated in mob outbreaks comparable in ferocity only to those of savages.

It was claimed by some that we were precluded from protest because the social order of its subjects concerns Russia alone, and because the lawless punishments of our negroes or the lynching of Italians furnish an effective estoppel to our complaints. Aside from the fact that this wrong does not make that right, it can not be claimed that these acts are directly or indirectly sanctioned by law, or that their inevitable effect forces the survivors in helpless misery upon Russia and other nations. The cases are not at all parallel, except in their inhumanity, and the question of self-protection has no place or reason in the Russian answer.

It is difficult to describe the conditions of government in Russia, in such a manner as to have them comprehended by Americans. Government in Russia and government in the United States represent the antipodes, the two extremes, of human freedom. Here we have liberty of speech; there you can not have a public gathering without permission of the authorities. Here, freedom of the press; there, a governmental censorship. Here, everything not expressly forbidden is allowed; there, everything not expressly allowed is forbidden. And in the case of the Jew, special laws, applicable only

to him, restrict his movements, limit his industry, levy taxes from which other subjects are exempt, and inflict punishment for offenses to which others are not liable—at every turn the Jew is made to feel that he is an alien and an outcast in a land which he inhabited before the Muscovite did.

These laws are the fundamental cause of the troubles. Not only do they contradict one another, but their construction varies in the different provinces or gubernia, according to the whim or the caprice of the authorities. In matters of religion, Jews can not hold public worship in their houses without permission of the authorities. Synagogs are allowed only in places where there are no less than eighty houses, and houses of prayer can be started only in places where there are not less than thirty Jewish dwellings. Thus in places with a smaller Jewish population, Jews are prohibited public prayer under pain of criminal prosecution. A Jew or Jewess converted to the Greek Orthodox religion may consider the marriage tie dissolved and may marry a person of the orthodox religion. According to law, every convert to Christianity shall receive a monetary payment of from fifteen to thirty rubles—children half that sum. Various other rules on religion, applicable only to Jews, appear in the laws, and these are especially vexatious and oppressive to the Jews, who cling to the faith of their fathers with a tenacity worthy of the martyrs. This will not be wondered at when their conditions are considered. The only ray of light penetrating that darkness is the hope of a better, happier life in the hereafter.

The laws relating to their military duties bear more heavily upon the Jew than upon the non-Jew, and dif-

ferently. The exemptions from military service are different, and for evasion of such service the family must pay a fine.

Taxes applicable only to them are levied for every animal or bird slaughtered—for every pound of meat sold as “kosher”; a certain percentage is exacted on rents, profits of factories, industrial establishments, and other trade enterprises carried on by Jews; on capital bequeathed by Jews; on apparel especially worn by Jews, such as a skull-cap; on candles (Sabbath lights), which alone amounts to about 230,000 rubles per annum; and on numerous other articles besides, all paying tribute because they belong to Jews.

Prior to 1880, Jews passing in a public middle-class school were allowed to enter universities, academies, and other higher educational establishments without restriction, but in that year the authorities began to limit the number of Jews so entering. In 1882, the number of Jewish students in the Military Academy for Medicine was limited to 5 per cent.; at present, none are admitted. In 1883, in the Mining Institute the limit was fixed at 5 per cent. In 1885, at the Technical Institute at Kharkoff the limit was fixed at 10 per cent. Finally, in 1887, the Minister of Public Education obtained the right of restricting the number of Jewish pupils in the educational establishments generally, which he exercised by limiting in all schools and universities the attendance of Jews residing in places within the Pale to 10 per cent., in places outside the Pale to 5 per cent., but in St. Petersburg and Moscow to 3 per cent. of the total number of pupils in each school or university—this without regard to the proportion of Jews to the general population in

any one place. In some places the Jewish population is 80 per cent. of the entire population.

What the higher education means to the Jews may be better appreciated when it is understood that a diploma of doctor or master, or the passing of the higher educational establishments, gives the right of permanent residence outside the Pale, altho the securing of this right has again been narrowed by subsequent amendments. For instance, admission to the bar, which gives such right of residence, is now coupled with the proviso that it be approved by the Minister of Justice, who since the birth of this provision, down to the time when last inquired about, has not seen his way clear to approve in the case of a Jew. Education has been the Jew's highway to privilege, the royal road to right of residence. The gates to this highway have been closed and locked with the keys in the custody of religious fanatics.

There came to my personal knowledge two instances of the refinement of technicalities by the officials on the one hand, and of desperate energy on the other. The first was the case of a Miss Berlin, who was graduated with honors at the Gymnasium of Minsk, in the Pale. Her mother was a midwife, and as such was entitled to live outside of the Pale, and had resided in Moscow for several years. Having procured a divorce from her husband, the mother resumed her maiden name, the daughter retaining that of her father, the only one she was legally authorized to bear. Under the mother's right of residence, the daughter, being a minor, was legally entitled to live with the mother. But, owing to this technical difference in names, residence in Moscow was refused, and, as she earnestly desired to complete her



education at the Pedagogical Institute of that city, so as to fit herself for teaching, she determined to take the chances and remain. For nearly two years she lived there the life of a hunted animal, compelled to put up at night at the houses of friends and relatives, occasionally with her mother, but no longer than two nights in succession in any one place. Twice, for fear of the police, she was without a place to go to, and wandered about the streets all night, once in midwinter and once in the spring while the weather was still cold. The director of the institute endeavored to obtain for her a permit to stay legally, but without avail, and the bribe money paid by the mother to the police finally proving insufficient, as the pressure increased she gave up the unequal struggle and returned to the Pale. She was a particularly bright, cultivated young lady, who would shine in any circle.

The second case. A brilliant young man, one of my guides through the Pale, had fitted himself for the bar, and for two years had applied for admission in vain. This gentleman was a graduate of the University of St. Petersburg, and possessed the finer sensibilities which culture and refinement bring. With his professional career blighted, his ambitions crushed, to him hope was a mockery, and apprehension and fear an ever-present and increasing torture. Unless his children—in spite of these restrictions—could by the higher education win for themselves the right of residence, the overcrowded Pale, daily growing worse, would be their fate when they attained their majority. There they must begin life, separated from their parents, in a land to which they were utter strangers, and in a compe-

tition where the effort to obtain a livelihood is a fierce struggle—literally, a snatching of bread out of the mouths of each other. As one of the girls in a stocking-knitting factory at Wilna described it, when asked by me what they lived on: “Two meals a day of black bread, watered with tears.” This was the prospect for his children, held out to a man who had mastered six languages, and by his scholarly attainments and training was fitted to adorn any society, and contribute to the progress and prosperity of any civilized people.

In short, the laws relating to residence are piled one on another, without regard to consistency, and enforced without respect to uniformity in construction. The Pale of Settlement to which Jews are restricted, except in the few privileged cases, comprises fifteen provinces, or gubernia, stretching along the western and southern borders of Russia, and covering an area about equal to that of the State of Texas. Until 1882 the Jew had the right of residence anywhere within this Pale, but in that year he was forbidden to settle outside the towns and villages. This still permitted those Jews who were then living in the rural districts of the Pale to continue such residence, but the harsh construction of the laws nullified this permission in many cases.

For instance, one young man on completing his term of military service could not return to his home, because it was held he had changed his residence when he entered the army. Another who had lived for years in a little place, not designated as a town or village, and who had temporarily removed to another house in the same place to enable his landlord to make repairs, was held to have changed his residence.

In addition to narrowing the area within the Pale, the movement was begun in 1891 to drive the Jews back into the Pale from the interior, meaning all the territory outside of the Pale. Most of these were in the interior as a matter of legal right and upon invitation; others were there on tolerance, without having at first legal sanction. In 1865, a decree was issued inviting into the interior, from the Pale, certain classes of Jews who at that time had not the right of residence outside the Pale, among them being hand-workers or artisans. The ground of this decree, as stated therein, was that there was a surplus of artisans in the Pale and a deficiency in the interior, and that it was designed not only to relieve the one, but to foster and develop the industries of the other. In 1880, another circular was issued, which in substance gave the right of residence outside the Pale to all those who were then living outside. Under these two decrees, many of the Jews settled in the interior, established themselves in business, married, and raised children and grandchildren, who never were within the Pale, but who were ordered to leave for the districts where their parents and grandparents were previously registered, to take up the burden of life under conditions with which they were not familiar and among people who were strangers to them.

The terror of the situation is intensified by the intermittent character of the persecutions, the alternating waves of oppression and tolerance. These come and go unexpectedly, breaking out in spots like a pestilence, and like a pestilence they are clearly traceable to a source, and that source is religious bigotry and fanaticism, before which humanity and self-interest disappear.

The first exodus dates from 1882, when the May laws were promulgated through General Ignatieff. The promulgation of these barbaric laws created such havoc and distress that it aroused the indignation of the civilized world, and brought about a practical suspension of their enforcement. A lull succeeded until 1891. Then the coils were again tightened, beginning with the now famous raid on the Jewish quarter of Moscow by the police and fire brigade of that city, under the direction of General Yourkoffsky, Chief of the Police.

Now, Jewish artisans had a perfect legal right of residence in Moscow under the decrees of 1865 and 1880, which formally invited them into the interior for the double purpose of relieving the congestion in the Pale and developing its industries.

Beginning with individual cases of expulsion, based upon the flimsiest sort of evidence and trickery, such as claiming that an artisan was fraudulently enrolled because at the precise moment of visitation the inspector did not find him actually engaged in the work of his craft, tho he may have been absent delivering work, or at his home ill; such as holding it to be a violation of the rules forbidding the sale of an article not the product of his own hand, when a watchmaker sold a watch-key, or a tailor a suit of clothes attached to which were buttons not of his manufacture. These pattering drops before the storm, while creating uneasiness in respect of conditions which had been comparatively tolerable there for years, were not sufficient for those who were tightening the screws.

The infamous midnight raid upon the Jewish quarter of Moscow fell upon these people like a bolt from the

sky, and while it can not be said that conditions were undisturbed, nevertheless this phase of the persecution was entirely unexpected. This was not the ebullition of a mob, it was not an exhibition of lawlessness before which the authorities were temporarily paralyzed; but it was a deliberately planned outrage, perpetrated by the police and fire brigade of the city. Surrounding the quarter, in the dead of night, at a given signal, they broke into the houses of these unfortunate people, dragged them from their rooms—men, women, and children indiscriminately—hurried them to the police stations, packed them into small apartments, where many had but standing-room, and held them from thirty-six to forty-eight hours without food or water, going through the forms of examination as to their rights of residence, and expelling them by wholesale on various limits of time, ranging from immediate to twelve months, according to their vocations or business pursuits, and according to their ability to purchase by bribery a temporary reprieve.

Some of these people slipped through the cordon of officials as they were driven to a common center, and escaped for a time. Of these, many wandered about the streets in the cold, insufficiently clad, dodging the police as best they could; some hired droshkies and drove about—this being safer—and some took their innocent wives and children to houses of prostitution for shelter for the night—these being safe from police visitation—hotels and boarding-houses, of course, being closed to the Jew. Among those who escaped was a woman, who, in her terror, and in the darkness, became separated from her husband and fled to a Christian cemetery in the neigh-

borhood, where she was found in the morning unconscious, and by her side a child, born during the night, cold in death.

After this raid, which inspired wholesale terror, the right of residence conferred by the decrees of 1865 and 1880 was withdrawn, and expulsions were ordered on a grand scale. Property was sacrificed, owing to forced and hurried sales; household goods, machinery, and fixtures realized about 10 per cent. of value on the average. Credit to business men was at once refused, whether the applicant had yet been ordered out or not; accounts could not be collected by those who were compelled to leave, and the cup of misery was filled to overflowing. Where, when, and how to go, and what to do when a stopping-place was reached, were the thoughts that tormented these poor victims of cruel persecution.

A typical case of one class was that of a bank official in an institution where there were five employees who had been ordered to go. His statement was this: "I am now sixty-one years of age; I have lived out of the Pale forty years, and in Moscow twenty-three years; I have two children, a daughter married to an army surgeon, who has been decorated for distinguished services in war, and who has the right to live here because of his position; and a son, who is a graduate of the university, and up to this time had also such right. I have been with this bank since its foundation, and am now its cashier and manager at a salary of 7,000 rubles per year. I want to live with my children and grandchildren, and die in their midst. I am ordered out, and presume I must go."

Soldiers who had served under Nicholas I., and their

sons, had the legal right of residence anywhere in the empire; nevertheless, a number had been ordered to leave within twenty-four hours; one had served his country faithfully for twenty-five years, as his documents proved; another, with a record of eighteen years, had been decorated with a bronze medal and a chevron. Truly a startling contrast in their treatment, and that accorded to the soldiers of our country.

People of this kind were arrested and forwarded to the Pale, handcuffed, in convoys with criminals, for no crime other than that of being of the Jewish faith. They were refused admission to the hospitals under the jurisdiction of the municipal authorities, notwithstanding they were taxed to support these institutions. The most pitiable case of extreme inhumanity—and incredible but for corroboration—was that of the man who had been bitten by a rabid dog; carried to the hospital on a stretcher, he was turned away to die like a dog, simply and solely because he was a Jew. This, notwithstanding the superintendent in charge wrote and signed a certificate to the effect that the man had been examined, that he had the symptoms of hydrophobia, and that his only chance for cure was in being treated at that institution, the only one in all Russia where the Pasteur method had been established.

It may be asked, Why this persistent pressure, this senseless and stupid, as well as barbarous, procedure? That it is partly based on religious fanaticism there seems to be no doubt, but that it is also grounded upon a comprehensive national policy is evidenced by the application of the screws to the sects of Stundists and Mennonites, to Polish Catholics, and, recently, to the

Finns. The Russian government is supported by two props—Church and State—the Czar being the nominal if not the real head of both. The zeal of Konstantin Petrovich Pobiedonostseff, Procurator-General of the Holy Synod, has kept alive the burning fagots of religious intolerance. An unrelenting, untiring, presumably honest zealot, his influence over the late Czar, acquired as his tutor, shaped the policy of the former administration and built up a faction whose strength it was hoped would weaken upon the advent of Nicholas, but whose power in the light of recent events is seemingly still intact. The Russification of all their various subjects, and the steady, regular advance in territorial acquisition, are all that is revealed to the world by occurrences from time to time.

The hardships and sufferings of individuals, the obliteration of races and nations, are but incidents in the great scheme of the domination of the Russian Empire and the Greek Church. While this may and will concern the United States in course of time, as it does Europe and Asia, the problem now looming up is, for us, a present and important one.

The persecuted Jews are coming here, crushed in spirit, impoverished in substance, weakened in physical powers, and degraded by persecution. Humanity cries a halt, and our self-interest demands our protest against the causes which create conditions so unbearable. The greater the misery from which these people escape, the more impressive the tyranny from which they flee, the more clannish and suspicious are they in their new surroundings. The Russian Jew can not lay aside his fears in a day. For years he has been taught in the sad school of experience



to be reviled and beaten without resistance. Whatever spirit he once possessed has been utterly crushed out. But, impoverished as he comes to us in many of the attributes desired and required in American citizenship, he is not bankrupt in the virtues which constitute the strength and glory of the American home. In all of my travels, while investigating the Jewish conditions in behalf of our government, *I never saw a drunken Jew. Sobriety is one of their cardinal excellences. In chastity of women, they stand second to no other race or nationality. In obedience, respect, and veneration for parents, the Jewish child furnishes a beautiful example which we might well emulate. In mentality keen, in energy and industry tireless, in charity unostentatious and boundless, they seldom become a charge, altho the drafts on the benevolent and prosperous members of their faith are sometimes strained to their fullest capacity. But with all of their faults and weaknesses, humanity prevents us from pushing these people back into the pit from which they have crawled. We should strike the note of protest here, where liberty is universal, where man is the freest, where no questions are asked as to religion, where there are no passports to royal or other favor except those of merit and obedience to laws made by ourselves.*

To sum up my argument: The Jew in Russia is an alien in the land of his birth, a subject who bears an undue share of the burdens of government without the privileges of its meanest citizen. Fettered in his movements, handicapped in his vocation, restricted in his educational opportunities, he is unable to protect himself, and powerless to invoke successfully the protection of the authorities; a slave without the self-interest of a

master to shield him from abuse, he stands helpless, friendless, and defenseless against brute force, egged on, not only by religious intolerance, but by contending forces that strive to strengthen the government on the one hand and to destroy it on the other—the irrepressible conflict of the age, between government by autocracy and government by the people. The Jew is therefore the sport of the rabble, the spoil of the official, the football of fanaticism, the buffer against which strikes the wrath of bigotry, intolerance, and savagery.

A poor, uncultured Jew at Kovno, who was about to sail for the United States, asked about the purposes of his weary voyage, textually replied: "I am going to America, for in that direction lies hope. Here I have only fears to confront me. The hope may be delusive, but the fears are a certainty. My great ambition is to breathe, at least once, the free air with which God has blessed the American people." These are the words of an uncultured Jew, and these are the sentiments in the hearts of every Jew in Russia.

Upon our fellow citizens of the Jewish faith has fallen a responsibility which they can not evade if they would, and which I am sure they would not if they could. They must receive the thousands who flee from their oppressors; aid them in establishing themselves in work and business, so that they will become self-sustaining; distribute them so that they will not by congestion become a menace; guard them against the dangers of a rebound from oppression to freedom, which so generally accompanies the lifting of a pressure, and which generally interprets liberty to mean license; and instil into their minds correct principles of our citizenship. To

solve these problems will tax their best energies, their most profound thought, and their most enlightened liberality.

We must be patient with these unfortunate people, and not judge them by the ordinary standards. Their lives, from the cradle up, have been passed under extraordinary conditions. The grown-up generation can never forget their mistreatment. They can not banish fear and suspicion on command, *but their children can be fitted to enter upon our citizenship and made to glorify their race and reflect credit upon our American institutions.*

## VII

## THE TRIAL OF THE KISHINEF RIOTERS

By DR. ARMAND KAMINKA

*Secretary of the "Israelitische Allianz zu Wien"; formerly  
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THE institution of legal proceedings against the rioters was a concession to public opinion in Europe and America, which during the summer following the massacre had loudly demanded the punishment of the guilty ones, holding the Russian government responsible for the atrocities. The excitement prevailing throughout the entire civilized world impelled the Minister of Justice, Murawjew, on his trip to western Europe, to declare that justice should take its course. But in view of what had occurred, this could only be accomplished by the abolition of the whole anti-Semitic system purposing the destruction of the Jews, together with the wiping out of its powerful support in the highest government circles. Since this was not contemplated, but, on the contrary, the systematic intimidation of the Jewish people was intended, together with the inciting against them of the native Russians, on patriotic principles (*i.e.*, principles alleged to be beneficial to the Czar's rule), the course of justice was so impeded as to turn its functions into a farce. In the first place, complete secrecy was observed, and no paper in the whole Russian empire was permitted

to print an item referring to the trial, in order that the Russian people might not become cognizant of the fact that atrocities committed against Jews were subject to punishment, and also that the anti-Semitic papers subsidized by the government might continue to represent these excesses as an outbreak of deep-seated hatred against the Jews. In the second place, the presiding judge had strict orders under no circumstances to implicate the backers of the rioters, the agitators, government officials, military persons, and instigators of the massacre, but, for the sake of saving the appearance of justice the prosecution was to be confined to the lowest instruments of the crime, who had been schooled in their parts by governmental agencies, as became evident in the course of the proceedings. And it was further decreed, in order to minimize the importance of the trial, that it should not be conducted as a single case covering all the outrages of April 19th and 20th (April 6th and 7th, O. S.), 1903, but as twenty-two separate cases, called one after another.

**FIRST CASE: MURDER OF THE BOY BARANOWITSCH,  
AND OF THE HEADS OF FAMILIES BENZION GALAN-  
TER, DRACHMANN, AND OTHERS**

**November 19**

The first case was called on November 19, 1903, being placed in the hands of a court sent from Odessa to Kishinef (Kishinef is a government city with about 110,000 inhabitants, one-half of which, are Jews). At the urgent request of the lawyers for the Jews, the presiding judge, Dawidow, petitioned the Ministry of Justice to have the case conducted in public, but his request

was refused. The leading representatives of the Jews were: the famous attorney Karabtschewski, known throughout Russia, and lawyers Grusenberg, Sarudny, Sokolow (son of a Greek orthodox clerical), Hillerson, all of St. Petersburg; Kupernick, Kusch, and Rattner, of Kief, and Lednitzky, of Odessa. The lawyers for the defense were: Schmakow, Pogorschew, and Perewersow, of Moscow, and the liberal-minded lawyer Schamouin. Schmakow—the notorious anti-Semite, who during the proceedings as well as in a final speech brought forward the most vile accusations against the Jews, which he had collected from the libelous works of Eisenmenger, Sjutostanski, Brimannus, and Rohling—stayed at Kishinef as guest in the building of the so-called “Philanthropic Society Bessarabetz,” an anti-Semitic club organized by Pawelski Kruschewan, the founder and publisher of the journal *Bessarabetz* (The Bessarabian), the real instigator of the massacre.

The chief representative of the state was Assistant Public Prosecutor Dschibelli, of Odessa; Chrabro Wasiljewsky was present as Commissioner of the Minister of Justice; while the people of the government were represented by Krupensky, Marshal of the Nobility of the Bessarabian District of Bender; Burgomaster Schelkowsch, of the city of Ackermann; and other dignitaries.

Before taking up the case the President informed the assembly that the request of the lawyers, to combine all the accusations referring to the excesses, was refused, as the number of persons involved was too great. For the first partial case alone (which referred to the murder of the schoolboy Baranowitsch, and of the heads of the fam-

ilies Benzion Galanter, Drachmann, and others, as well as to numerous instances of plundering), thirty-seven defendants, fifty-three injured persons, and five hundred and forty-five witnesses were cited.

In stating the case, the Public Prosecutor admitted that crimes had been perpetrated during the Christian Easter days, and demanded the punishment of the guilty parties; and he pointed out that the population was filled with hatred toward the Jews, which was fanned by the articles in the *Bessarabetz*. He ignored the story given out by the government at St. Petersburg in a communication of Minister de Plehve after the massacre, and published in the official organ, that the Jews themselves had directly caused the riot, when on Easter Sunday a Jew jostled a Christian woman and her child in a crowd of people assembled around a *karussell* (popular recreation and children's games), thereby exciting the anger of the populace against the Jews. It was brought out in the preliminary examination—which was conducted by Judge Freynat, who was not at all friendly to the Jews, and even had a secret understanding with the police—that on the day in question the *karussell* was not running, that there was no crowd on the spot, and that such an occurrence never took place.

When the witnesses were about to take the oath, Schmakow, the anti-Semitic lawyer for the defense, demanded that the Jews should take the oath "more judaico" (*i.e.*, in the synagog, with black candles, and robed in the tallith, according to the custom of former centuries), as otherwise a Jew's oath could not be trusted. The prosecutor replied that this was the first time that he heard such an insinuation against the Jews, and that,

to his knowledge, no one, since the institution of the new Russian court rules under Alexander II. (in 1870), had ever intimated that the oath of a Jew was valid only when taken in the synagog with certain formalities. The Jews, as far as he knew, held no place sacred in itself, but could appeal to God anywhere. Lawyer Karabtschewsky declared, in the name of the plaintiffs, that, in spite of the bitter insult implied in the request of the defense, the Jewish witnesses were willing to take the oath in the synagog with all the required formalities and ceremonies, in order to prevent the least doubt as to their testimony. The court, however, ruled the request out.

The witnesses then took the oath in six groups. Rabbi Abraham Kottlowker addressed the Jewish witnesses as prescribed, reminding them of the sanctity of the oath. The Russian priest, on addressing the Christian witnesses, indulged in thinly veiled, offensive allusions to the Jews, saying: "The fundamental teaching of the Christian religion is the doctrine of brotherly love, not the Old Testament doctrine, 'Eye for eye, tooth for tooth.'"

#### **Ex-Burgomaster SCHMIDT on the Stand**

The first witness was KARL ALEXANDROWITSCH SCHMIDT, ex-burgomaster of Kishinef, a highly respected, liberal-minded man of German descent, who had been at the head of the city government for twenty-seven years, and was in office at the time of the riots. He said in part: "Shortly before Easter reports were spread throughout our city that excesses against the Jews were about to take place. But no one really believed these reports to



be true, altho the calumnies appearing in Kruschewan's *Bessarabetz* were bound to call forth violence against the Jews. No one thought that a city with a garrison of about 10,000 men could become the scene of such bloody deeds as occurred in the Easter holidays. On Sunday morning, April 19th, I was visiting an acquaintance, when I heard a tumult and the sound of breaking glass. Fearing that the anticipated disorders had broken out, I hurried home in great excitement. On the way I met groups of young men who were demolishing the houses and shops of the Jews. On entering my own house, my family told me that the rioters had attempted to force their way in there, too, but that an officer had advised them to go to the next house instead, which was occupied by Jews. I then remained at home until Tuesday morning, since I was unable to do anything in the matter. From my window I witnessed the destruction of the Jewish property opposite. My two sons, who went out on this and the following day, told me of heart-rending occurrences. My elder son met a gang on the corner of Alexandrowskaja and Michajlowskaja streets, who loudly boasted that they had beaten a Jew so that he lay at the point of death. When my son remonstrated with the roughs, they turned upon him, saying: 'He is probably also a Jew, otherwise he would not scold us.' My son, terrified, exclaimed: 'You mean fellows, are you not satisfied with murdering and plundering a Jew, that you are now turning upon me, a Christian? As a good Christian I reproach you for the crimes you have committed against other people, for we should have pity upon all creatures.' The men, taken aback, asked my son: 'Have you not read the *Bessara-*

*betz*, which says that the Jews of Dubossary have murdered a Christian boy and drunk his blood? 'But that has been officially refuted long ago, and stigmatized as a lie,' said my son. 'We don't care for this refutation,' replied the rioters, 'we know very well that the Jews deny everything that is printed in the *Bessarabetz*.' "

The burgomaster furthermore said that his younger son had seen a gang of rioters maltreat Jewish women and girls in Alexandrowskaja Street, near Kiliski Street. He vainly applied to an officer of the military detachment near by to aid the victims, and the gang was only dispersed by the subsequent passing of another detachment of troops. The witness noticed in general that during the riot the police steadily refused to intervene in behalf of the plundered and maltreated Jews, while most of the officers of the numerous detachments of troops, stationed in the various streets, replied to the urgent appeals for aid that "they had no orders." He said that many Jews came to place their money and valuables into his safe-keeping, but that he could not offer them personal protection.

PRESIDING JUDGE : Were the Jews that came to you armed, or had they any kind of weapon that could serve for an attack ?

SCHMIDT : The Jews were so cowed and despairing that they crept about like shadows, seeming entirely helpless. Arms were entirely out of the question.

PROSECUTOR : Have the Jews otherwise lived in harmony with the Christians ?

SCHMIDT : As far as I can remember since early childhood, the Jews and Christians in Bessarabia have lived together in perfect harmony. If it has happened occa-

sionally that some Moschke (Jew) has taken advantage of an Iwan (Russian), the Iwan has settled his score with that particular Moschke; there was no such thing as religious or racial hatred. This hatred has appeared only since the founding of the *Bessarabetz*, not among the native population, but among the fluctuating mass of artisans, who oppose the Jewish competition. The *Bessarabetz* circulates largely among this class. The Moldavians, the native population of Bessarabia, have been friendly toward the Jews, and have always held them in esteem. The many restrictive decrees issued against the Jews have done much to imperil their position and to lower them in the eyes of the Christian population, and certain classes among the people began to treat them like Pariahs. But the excesses against them would probably not have occurred had it not been for the systematic instigations on the part of the *Bessarabetz*. The pillaging had evidently been fully planned. When the mother of Dr. Dubina, who lived near a Jewish house, noticed that a gang of rioters was about to enter her house, and reproved them for not distinguishing between a Jewish and a Christian abode, one of the fellows took a note-book out of his pocket, and, after consulting it, said: "Your house is No. 7, and is here noted as the property of a Jew. Excuse our mistake. We will not hurt you."

SCHMAKOW, lawyer for the defense: Do you not know that the Jews have monopolized the entire commerce of Kishinef and vicinity?

SCHMIDT: A large number of the more important firms, and most of the smaller concerns, are naturally in Jewish hands, since the Jews are deprived of almost all

opportunities of making their living in any other way than in business. They are not allowed to engage in agriculture, and may not even lease farms. Since they have been expelled from the villages and frontier districts, they congregate in large numbers in the cities of the interior, and they are obliged to engage in commerce in order to keep from starving.

Asked for further proofs that the excesses had been planned beforehand and systematically prepared, the witness stated that two women employed in the City Hall told him that before Easter some unknown persons had quizzed them in regard to the people living in the vicinity. The purpose of these questions became plain at Easter, when the carefully noted Christian houses were spared, while the Jewish houses were demolished. Schmidt said, referring to Kruschewan, that this unscrupulous journalist was so sure of being protected by the authorities in his anti-Semitic proceedings that he even printed articles which had failed to pass the preventive censorship (Vice-Governor Ustrugoff was then acting as censor). He was never punished for these trespasses.

The next witness was General BECKMANN, commander of the garrison at Kishinef. He admitted that on April 19 and 20 at least 5,000 men were under arms in the city, who could have quelled the riot at once, but that no orders to that effect were given. He admitted that, according to the rules of the service, the troops were enjoined to aid in quelling disturbances where the police force was inadequate to do so. He made no answer to the question why this had not been done during these bloody riots. He said, however, that while the riot was

in progress Governor von Raaben had expressed the fear that the rioters might, in their rapacity, even attack the Christian population. Measures were therefore taken on Monday afternoon to restore order.

Another witness, FEIGIN, correspondent of the *Odeski Nowosti*, stated that, as far as he had observed, the accused were merely the tools of certain unscrupulous agitators belonging to the educated classes. In this connection he indicated, among others, the notary Pissarczewski (who has since committed suicide in a low resort). The presiding judge here interrupted the witness, ordering him to refer only to the persons under indictment.

Lawyer SARUDNY protested against this curtailment of free speech, saying: "There are poor devils among the accused who do not realize the immense damage they have done in their fury or the abominable crimes they have committed. The ruined Jewish families can not even sue them in order to cover, at least, a portion of their loss, while the educated and wealthy persons who are the real instigators of the crime are shielded. The witnesses are not even permitted to publish the name of a single one of them. They should all be brought into court, and at least be compelled to pay damages."

The proceedings on this day then became dramatic. Sarudny threatened to resign his office if the court did not agree to indict the real offenders. Karabtschewsky seconded this proposition, but Prosecutor Dschibelli vigorously opposed it. Four lawyers for the defense, especially Schamouin, joined in the demand of the lawyers for the Jews, with the object of incriminating the real instigators of the riot, and thereby representing their clients as misguided tools. They demanded, there-

fore, that the agitators and the originators of the slanderous reports should also be indicted.

Lawyer Schmakow held, with the government, that the organization of the riots should in no case be inquired into, and the court acceded to this demand. The witness Feigin was thereupon enjoined from including in his testimony any reference to the participation of the agitators in the excesses.

**November 22—The Testimony of the New Burgomaster,  
Dr. SIZINSKY**

The new burgomaster of Kishinef, the physician Dr. Sizinsky, was put on the witness-stand, having been primarius at the city hospital during the excesses. He testified that on April 19th twenty-two injured persons, fifteen of whom were in a serious condition, were brought to the hospital; eight had been injured by acids and five had bullet wounds. On the first day of the disorders four dead bodies were brought in—two Christians and two Jews. It could not be determined by whom the Christians had been killed, but the wounded did not designate the Jews as the guilty ones. Dr. Sizinsky also ascribed the origin of the disorders to the *Bessarabetz*, which had caused such bitterness of feeling between Jews and Christians that even the wounded in the hospital lying on neighboring cots quarreled together. The Christians maintained that everything appearing in the *Bessarabetz* and in the *Znamja*, Kruschewan's other paper published at St. Petersburg, originated in the higher government circles, and was therefore based on truth, especially as the *Znamja* appeared under the eyes of the government. The Jewish patients asserted, on the other

hand, that the papers printed only malicious calumnies by an unscrupulous publicist with which the official circles had nothing to do. The witness was compelled to separate the quarreling patients.

Questioned by Schmakow in regard to the commercial position of the Jews, Dr. Sizinsky said that he remembered two or three Christian merchants dealing in manufactured goods whose shops disappeared in the course of time. One of these merchants, a wealthy, childless old man, gave up his business, while in another case the children of the Christian merchant squandered his fortune. During this time, however, several Jewish merchants also failed. Commercial conditions were, on the whole, the same for the various groups of the population. The witness considered the leasing of farms by Jews undesirable because, in consequence of their exceptional position before the law, and the insecurity in regard to their contracts, the Jews were forced to get the most out of the soil in the shortest possible time, regardless of rational methods of farming. He said that the Jews, on the whole, are industrious, often earning their living by hard manual labor; they are skilful workmen and artisans. On being asked to explain why so many Jews at Kishinef had acquired great wealth, the witness said that many Armenians, Greeks, and Bulgarians had likewise acquired great wealth in fertile Bessarabia, occasionally by questionable means.

#### Other Witnesses

Military Surgeon Dr. MILLER testified that he witnessed maltreatment, plundering, and murder in the streets, under the eyes of the troops and police. He vainly appealed to the Governor to intercede.

Police District Inspector WITKOWSKY testified that two weeks before Easter the proprietor of the tea-house "Moskwa" had shown him a secret circular, requesting the proprietor to notify the Christian patrons of his establishment that the Jews were about to be attacked during Easter, and to spread false stories regarding the Jews—*e.g.*, that they had desecrated a Christian church and had killed the priest. Witkowsky furthermore said that with the few men under his command he was not able to help the Jews; and when he applied to the Police Commissioner, Chausenkow, the latter said: "The Jews must look out for themselves; we can not help them."

Lawyer KÖNIGSCHATZ said that he noticed various circumstances indicating that the outrages had been planned. The plunderers not only were not interrupted, but were allowed to go on with their work under the eyes of the soldiers and police. The cruelties they committed called forth the indignation of some of the better class among the non-Jews. On April 20th the witness went with the government physician, Twjordochljeboff, and Colonel Dobrodejeff to the Jewish hospital, whither many of the wounded and dead Jews had been taken; he testified that the sight of the unfortunate victims moved even his Christian companions to tears. In many streets the police themselves encouraged the excesses.

Dr. MUTSCHNIK, president of the Jewish community, after the outbreak of the disorders, went with a deputation of Jews to Governor von Raaben, to induce him to take steps for restoring order. As more reports of murder and plundering were coming in, the Governor seemed inclined to proceed to the scenes of the riot, but Dr. Mutschnik waited in vain for him to do so. He seems



to have been dissuaded from interfering by Colonel von Levendall, who apparently brought him instructions from his superiors.

Dr. SLUTZKI, primarius of the Jewish hospital, testified that some of the bodies were horribly mutilated, bearing evidence of barbaric maltreatment.

Rabbi ETTINGER testified that several Jewish women and girls came to the rabbinate with stories of the outrages committed upon them, and some were, in consequence, obliged to place themselves in the hands of Drs. Gispiner and Reichenberg for treatment.

### November 23

Lieutenant of Dragoons SOLTANOWSKY was put on the stand. Echoing the anti-Semitic periodicals, he represented the Jews as the source of all Russian misfortunes, and the excesses as an outbreak of the passionate hatred of the people against them. He testified that a rioter said to a Jew whom he had felled: "Take this for your cheating and extortion!"

The captain of the third police precinct, LUTSCHENSKY, learned that the proprietor of a tea-house in Pawlowsky Street, Baldir by name, had received circulars inviting the people to participate in the riots. He informed Police Commissioner Chausenkoff, who had nothing to say to it. Witness indicated as author of the article, "Who Is the Guilty One?" published in the *Znamja* of November 18th, the agitator Pronin, who is generally known to have been one of the chief instigators of the disorders, and is still continuing his systematic attacks on the Jews.

A lawyer for the Jews testified that Pronin was permitted to distribute his pamphlet, justifying the criminals and whitewashing them as good patriots, among the accused in prison, in order to relieve them of the consciousness of their guilt.

Engineer KUSCH, president of the volunteer firemen, confirmed the report of the cruelties and the negligence of the police. He ascribed the origin of the riots to the exceptional position of the Jews before the law and the general restriction of their civic rights, causing the lower classes of the population to look at them as Pariahs who might be harassed with impunity.

Ex-Police Captain KOZLOWSKY, when put on the stand, delivered a hot speech against the Jews, designating them as "extortioners." Referring to the behavior of the police during the disorders, he said that he had been ordered to station himself with his men in the vicinity of the government palace; Levendall, among others, having issued this order.

#### November 24

The brutalities and barbaric mutilations of the bodies came up for discussion.

Chief State Physician Dr. PREJATATKOWITSCH testified that he himself had not seen the bodies; his subordinates had examined twenty-two bodies, and had found no mutilation. Cross-questioned, he admitted that this examination was merely superficial. He had not been ordered to publish his report, but had done so voluntarily.

Deputy Police Commissioner DOWGAL attempted to

justify the authorities by saying that the Jews had behaved aggressively.

Lawyer KARABTSCHIEWSKI thereupon asked : "Then why have sixty Christians been arrested at the instance of the witness, while there was no occasion to arrest a Jew? And why, furthermore, are the Christians permitted to carry revolvers, while the Jews are forbidden to do so? The Jewish physician Charik was not permitted to carry weapons, while a Christian physician received such permission."

Publicist ASCHESCHOFF testified that the police knew of the impending excesses long before Easter. Some days before Easter, Pronin circulated a pamphlet entitled "A Word to My Christian Brethren," in which he called upon the people to plunder the Jews.

Engineer TZIGANKO, the director of the monastery domains in Bessarabia, and GURJEFF, testified to the indifference of the police. Gurjeff, a fair-minded Christian, made vain attempts to induce the authorities to come to the aid of the Jews. He said, in part : "For fifty years I have been living in Bessarabia, and I can swear that I do not know of any case where the Jews as a race have been guilty of any offense. Individual Jews, of course, as well as individual Christians, transgress the law, but so far as I know this happens less often among them than among the other national groups—as, for instance, among the Armenians, Bulgarians, and Greeks. The Jews have gained their wealth by fair dealings ; they are noted for their peaceful domestic life, their industry and thrift ; as farmers they guard the interests of the landlord as well as those of the peasants, and give no cause for complaint."

November 25

Two Russian orthodox priests testified that the reports circulated before Easter to the effect that the Jews had desecrated a church and killed the priest were a mere myth.

Police Commissioner SOLOWKIN, who played an especially sorry rôle during the disorders—for instance, offering protection in his office to some Jews on the payment of five rubles per head, and asking ten rubles of a woman with an infant—testified that on the “Wine Place” large numbers of Jews with sticks were gathered. He said, furthermore, that the *karussell* on Tschuffi Place, where, according to the note from the government, the disorders began through the fault of a Jew, was not at all running, it being Easter Sunday, and that there were no Jews on the spot.

The deputy director of the prison testified that Pronin’s pamphlets justifying the murderers were circulated among the accused in prison. It furthermore came out that the priest JOHN OF KRONSTADT, who is highly esteemed by the Czar, and who had published an epistle to the Christians, severely censuring the occurrences, was induced by the false representations of Pronin to recall his epistle, which had created a profound impression throughout Russia, and to publish a second letter anti-Semitic in tone.

PRONIN, on being subjected to a lengthy cross-examination, admitted the above-mentioned facts. He said that he went to Father John to convince him of the guilt of the Jews, deeming it his duty to second to the best of his ability the endeavors of the Minister of the Interior to combat Judaism; that a meeting of Jews from all

countries was held before Easter in a synagog at Kishinef, at which it was decided to organize a revolt against the government. The Jews thereupon attacked the Christians, who merely defended themselves. The witness was not able to verify these statements.

**November 27**

One of the chief instigators of the excesses, STEPANOFF, a man without any education, who had, however, some reputation as organizer among workingmen, was examined. Anti-Semitic articles were published under his name in Kruschewan's *Znamja*. During the examination it became manifest that the reputed author could not even put together a few grammatical sentences in his native Russian tongue, Kruschewan using him merely as a tool. He caused some laughter by reciting on the witness-stand the articles which had appeared under his name.

A copy of one of the anti-Semitic pamphlets circulated before the disorders, which was produced in court, contains the following passage: "The Jews are not satisfied that Jesus Christ has given His blood in atonement for them; they still thirst to-day for the blood of Christians, and have even now committed murder at Dubossary for ritual purposes. It is the sacred duty of all Christians to avenge this blood; the troops will assist you, and the police will stand by you."

**November 28**

District Inspector BLAGOJ, who was on duty in the suburb Skuljanskaja Rogatka during the riots, testified that two hundred soldiers looked on at the plundering

there, and even took part in it. The witness, who was not authorized to intercede, exhorted the rioters to desist, but they laughed at him, saying that the holy synod had permitted them to kill the Jews.

GRIGORJEFF, the proprietor of the tea-house "Moskwa," testified that Jews were among his patrons, and that previous to the riot he had not noticed any ill feeling between them and the Christians.

A German, WEDEMEYER, testified that some one incited the mob to plunder by showing a telegram and shouting that an order had come from persons high in authority to attack the Jews.

Jews who were ruined by having their possessions plundered and demolished then took the stand.

LAZAR LAPUSCHNER, the owner of a fancy-goods store on the New Market, testified that part of his goods were carried off, and part were soaked with kerosene and then burned. This formerly well-to-do merchant was thereby reduced to beggary.

The Jew PORTUGAIS, whose house was entirely demolished, sought protection from Police Commissioner Zadoroschny. On asking him whether the Jews were not under the protection of the Russian law, the Commissioner replied: "If you don't like the Russian laws, you can go to America." Several other Jews related how their goods, fixtures, furniture, clothing, and everything else of value were destroyed, and how they barely saved their lives.

#### November 29

Dr. DOROSCHEWSKY, who was physician at the city hospital in April (he was dismissed in May, on account of his pro-Semitic attitude) testified that several bodies

bore evidence of the torture that had been inflicted before death. One head had an ear entirely severed from it, and the head of another body was so mutilated as to be unrecognizable. Trustworthy persons reported to the witness that one body was found with its belly slit open and filled with feathers. The shoemaker Andrusjeff drew two iron nails out of the nose of another corpse.

FISCHMANN, the proprietor of a clothing house at the corner of Nikolajewskaja and Pushkin streets, related how his shop was attacked on Monday, April 20th, at two o'clock in the afternoon, in presence of the troops and the police, while Vice-Governor Ustrugoff was in the vicinity. As the rioters approached, the officers ordered the soldiers to fall back a few steps to give them room. The shop was entirely destroyed, the rioters proceeding undisturbed, as if under orders, while the populace idly looked on.

### November 30

The relations of the slain were put on the stand.

REUBEN KATZAP described the murder of his aged grandmother, who could not escape in time. From his hiding-place in the garret he witnessed the tortures to which she was subjected.

SIMON BARANOWITSCH, the father of the murdered schoolboy, Benjamin Baranowitsch, testified that he and his son, together with Israel Rosenmann and Benzion Galanter (who was likewise killed) attempted to hide in an out-of-the-way closet in a courtyard; but they were discovered, and the rioters Kirika, Iwan Marasjuk, Kolesnitschenko, and Pschernesko (who were among the accused) killed young Baranowitsch brutally before

the eyes of his father, to whom they said: "Don't move. We will kill you next like a dog!" However, some soldiers just then passed through the yard, and on hearing the cries of distress, they said to the murderers: "That will do. Now, boys, move on!" The police captain of the second precinct, Solowkin, came along, and when the survivors appealed to him for protection, he quietly continued smoking his cigarette, wiped off the blood with which he had been splattered on passing the scene of the murder, and went on.

SOLOWKIN, on being put on the stand, declared that he did not remember any of these occurrences.

#### December 1

A commission from the court inspected the locality where these murders took place, verifying the detailed statements of the witnesses regarding the same. Rosenmann described how Benzion Galanter was slain by Kirika and his companions. CHAIM GALANTER, a schoolboy of thirteen, described the death of his father, of which he was witness.

The jeweler ATATSKY, whose shop was plundered in the presence of the vice-Governor and several other dignitaries, testifies that police officers, among them District Inspector Karucs, packed up valuables from his shop in newspapers and carrying them off.

Judge Freynat, who conducted the preliminary examinations, resorted to intimidation to make the witness refrain from testifying against police officers, and subsequently tampered with the records.



## December 2

LEO KULBERG, a Jewish member of the volunteer firemen, was put on the stand. He testified that, standing in full uniform on a street corner, he was mistaken for an officer by the rioters, being thereby enabled to prevent cruelties in that vicinity. He cited this as a proof how easily even a small number of soldiers could have prevented the disturbances in the city. Among the leaders of the gangs he recognized the brothers Lwow, the sons of the inspector of the army hospital. At the preliminary examination Judge Freynat refused to enter this statement on the records.

District Inspector LOPINSKY testified that the Jews had nowhere provoked attack; he himself had ordered them to remain indoors.

The shoe-dealer FERDMANN testified that when his shop was plundered, the police *pristav*, Lutschinsky, and District Inspector Jablonsky were in the vicinity. The troops dispersed the Jews who attempted to oppose the plunderers.

JABLONSKY denied that he had been an idle spectator, insisting that he arrested the accused Weto on that occasion.

WETO thereupon shouted: "That is a lie! Inspector Jablonsky, on the contrary, urged me to take part in the plundering, as other Christians did."

## December 3

MAKEDON, a superior police official, testified that he had some of the robbers who attacked Fischmann's shop arrested, including the accused Theodor. But the latter, sitting among the accused, exclaimed: "That is not true;

I am innocent! Mr. Makedon himself gave me an iron bar, saying, 'Go and break into Jewish shops!' A patrolman showed me the shops to go to. It is true that Makedon later on arrested me, but he said that he did it only for appearance' sake, and that I would be set free again in two weeks. I may say, as a proof, that my arrest was not meant seriously, that I was not taken on foot, but was put into a tram-car!''

Lawyer SCHAMOUIN declared that he and his colleagues knew that a man by the name of Buktschuk was among the accused, who was ready to testify under oath that Police Captain Chausenkoff and several police officers incited the people to attack the Jews by promising indemnity from punishment. Schamouin furthermore requested the court to cite Schachowsky, Secretary of the Magistracy, who could testify that before Easter he was advised by some policemen to place images of saints in his windows, in order that his house might be spared. The court refused both of these suggestions.

#### December 5

The witness FEUERMANN testified that well-known persons living in the suburb of Rischkanowka had demolished all the Jewish dwellings. The people there asserted that the Czar had given orders to plunder and strike the Jews, but they differed as to whether this order covered merely three days or the entire week.

CHAWA ZELDIN, the wife of a baker, said that the mob had severely wounded her husband in the head, and had attempted to kill him, alleging that he made unleavened bread with Christian blood. Seldin, on being discharged

from the hospital, went to America to make a new home for his family.

The anti-Semitic lawyer for the defense, ROMANENKO, asked: "Don't you know that excesses are also committed in America?"

The presiding judge ruled the question out.

KARABTSCHIEWSKI: Do you know whether Jews are persecuted in America because they are Jews?

THE WITNESS: Certainly not for that reason.

FEIGE CHADSCHI, the daughter of the Jew Stiwil, whose house in the suburb of Rischkanowka was entirely demolished, heard neighbors say that the police circulated a report to the effect that for a whole week the populace would be permitted to plunder and attack the Jews. The people mocked the Jews who were decorating their houses for the Passover, saying: "Why do you go to such trouble? You will be killed before long."

Documents were produced to show that the accusation of ritual murder contributed largely to the inciting of the people; among them was an illustration, representing Jews, robed in the tallith, murdering a Christian woman, with the legend: "As the Jews hacked the flesh of this Christian woman, so we will cut up the Jewish revolutionaries." This illustration was circulated at Kishinef before Easter. It was brought out during the examination that this illustration was folded in with a copy of the anti-Semitic *Deutsche Volksblatt*, of Vienna, only one copy of which is sent to Kishinef to Kruschewan's representative, Scherban. Scherban, together with Tomaschewsky, the managing editor of the *Bessarabetz*, made propaganda with this illustration and articles referring to it. The court refused to cite these two men.

**December 7**

As the presiding judge and the representatives of the government emphatically denied the demands of the lawyers for both parties, aside from Schmakoff and Romanenko, to cite the instigators of the riot and the really guilty ones, nearly all the lawyers retired from the case on December 7th, justifying their action in noteworthy speeches. Two of them may find place here, as illustrating the general situation.

**Speech of Attorney-at-Law S. P. SCHAMOUIN, of Moscow**

A new series of facts which were brought out during the proceedings, and which present the late excesses in a new light, compel the defense to request that, in agreement with § 549 of the Code of Criminal Proceedings, the whole matter be referred back to the preliminary examination, since otherwise the questions that have come up would, on the one hand, divert the proceedings into entirely different channels, and, on the other hand, furnish a new criterion for the actions ascribed to the accused. It has been proved in court that before April 19th the Governor already knew that excesses were about to take place. It has become evident that propaganda in favor of the excesses was made in proclamations, which were distributed in restaurants and other localities, and were read by the ignorant masses. These pamphlets were an invitation to lawlessness, by promising indemnity to the participants and threatening those who kept aloof.

It has been proved that on the eve of the excesses unknown persons went through the streets of Kishinef, marking the houses of the Jews. Hence the excesses

were carefully planned, as became evident also in the course of events. The excesses began at the same hour in about two hundred different places; the leaders of the gangs had blank-books, in which the Jewish houses and dwellings were carefully noted; the gangs were numbered, being designated as the seventh, ninth, tenth, etc., as appeared from the testimony of the witnesses. According to Feigin's testimony, one hundred and twenty young men were ordered to participate in the riots, all armed in the same manner, having sticks encased in iron conduit pipes. The question as to the persons arranging the excesses brought out new details. It has been proved that agents of Chief of Police Levendall accompanied all the gangs, exhorting them to attack the Jews; that the troops stationed at Kishinef were not ordered out to restore peace, since Levendall kept them in reserve for special purposes, and, furthermore, that Levendall terrorized the Governor, compelling him to do his (Levendall's) bidding.

In view of the fact that, according to the testimony of one of the most important witnesses, Levendall is the only one able to give a true account of the origin of the disorders, counsel for the defense asserts that Levendall himself organized the excesses, not as a private citizen, but as the representative of the authorities, carrying out a wish originating in higher circles, and being rewarded for doing so. It has been proved that the excesses were permitted by the administrative authorities, this fact being confirmed by the behavior of the police of Kishinef on the days in question. Early in the morning of April 20th the police disarmed the Jews, confiscating all implements found in their dwellings which might serve

for purposes of self-defense, and drove every Jew to his home, thereby removing all possibility of the slightest resistance to the assailants. Policemen accompanied the rioters, and even preceded them, as if to show them the dwellings of the Jews; the precinct inspectors and *pristavs* encouraged them. It has been proved, finally, that previous to Easter day agents of the police informed the populace that "the Jews were to be massacred for three days."

All these facts prove beyond a doubt that the "program" was arranged by the local authorities, and that the accused did not proceed on the grounds set down in § 269 of the Criminal Code. While the prisoners are accused of disturbing the peace and resisting the authorities, it appears, on the contrary, that they carried out the latter's orders. We demand, therefore, in the interest of our clients, and for the purpose of showing that the excesses were not the work of the accused, but were carried out in conformity with a preconceived plan of the administrative authorities, that in agreement with § 549 of the Code of Criminal Proceedings the case be referred back to the preliminary examination.

**Speech of Attorney-at-Law KARABTSCHIEWSKI**

My colleagues have authorized me to inform the court that in full agreement with the defense, and in view of the new facts brought out in the course of the proceedings, we deem it impossible for the trial to proceed now, and we request, in conformity with § 549 of the Code of Criminal Proceedings, that the case be referred back to the preliminary examination, in the interests of truth. I may add that more than once, whenever a new, sensa-

tional fact came out which appeared to shed new light on some point of the case, it seemed to us impossible to conduct the trial within the limits into which the judge conducting the preliminary examination, as well as the prosecutor, tried to confine it. We frequently were barely able to control our feelings, and to refrain from exclaiming: "This is not in agreement with law, and this court is not the temple of justice." We felt this especially whenever the testimony showed that the prisoners at the bar were merely used as tools, being ignorant men who do not even understand what the witnesses are talking about, and to whom they are referring in describing the signs indicating the well-planned organization of the massacre.

We, on our part, have conscientiously considered the new facts offered, welcoming every detail tending to present definite proofs instead of mere conjecture; a sufficient number of facts are now on hand, but we are debarred from proceeding. We now perceive clearly that the riots were preorganized; but in order to investigate this organization fully the Public Prosecutor and the Judicial Examiner must endeavor to trace the persons participating in the scheme. Speaking from a legal point of view, and strictly within the limits of the legal order of proceedings, I find a most important new element in the fact which has been brought out in court, that the riots of the Easter days were said to be connected, in a certain way, with rebellious political demonstrations alleged to have been premeditated. Closely connected with this is evidently also the very complicated preparation for the attack on the Jews, which broke out on April 20th, while troops were kept idly in the

court of the government palace, waiting for some secret order.

Paragraph 269 of the Criminal Code, according to which transgressions called forth by racial, religious, or class hatred must be submitted to the jury, would not apply fully to the entire proceedings here, if the facts brought out were traced back to their sources. The excesses may be divided into a number of individual acts of violence committed against the Jews; these acts, each of which should be punished as a separate crime, do not appear to be connected, so far as regards the spirit, the motives, and the ends, as well as all the points enumerated in the humane § 269 of the Code. Many witnesses, including the *pristav* Ossowsky, on the stand yesterday, have testified that the watchword unifying all the atrocities was the cry: "The Jews have offended our Little Father, the Czar!"

Rumors, as well as proclamations inviting to the attack upon the Jews, were circulated among the lower classes of the people; some of the witnesses connected this with the statement alleging that in the city of Kishinef rebellious pamphlets were circulated exclusively by Jews. In the Easter days the people were convinced, by reason of the agitation carried on for a long time by special agents, that the Czar had proclaimed that the Jews, being his enemies, could be killed with impunity. This matter was discussed publicly, at home, and in the streets, and there was merely a difference of opinion whether the permission to kill them covered three days or a whole week. Should it be proved that this was the sole cause of the excesses committed against the Jews, the question arises whether § 269 of the Code can be



applied in this case. I think that this question must be answered in the negative.

Take the case that the accused were instructed to kill, as a matter of duty, a certain number of Jews they happened to meet, on the assumption that some of these unfortunates had deserved death on account of their participation in political demonstrations. What would be the legal proceedings under these circumstances? Would it be merely a case of punishing the irresponsible and misguided prisoners at the bar? Remember that they killed these reputed revolutionary propagandists at the suggestion of other persons, being themselves merely the deluded victims of unscrupulous trickery. Remember, furthermore, that the excesses, which were really the work of the tricky instigators, became possible only because the administrative authorities and the troops either directly incited the rioters or encouraged them to believe that they were doing a patriotic act. What crime enumerated in § 269 of the Criminal Code can, under these circumstances, be ascribed to the accused?

I will illustrate my words by going back for a moment to an incident happening in ages long past—in Judea, at the time of the Roman rule. The Romans, as is well known, were excellent lawyers, who probably had a § 269 in their Criminal Code, prescribing relatively light punishment in cases where one part of the population attacked another, or in cases of social upheavals occurring on that volcanic soil of class contrasts. Now take the well-known historical fact: King Herod issued orders that all Jewish male children born in a certain night shall be slain, in order that the prophecy of the birth of the Savior may not be fulfilled. Now the band

of murderers disperses throughout the city, entering the Jewish houses, snatching infants out of their mothers' arms, and murdering the little boys. Many among the murderers have been hired, while others are merely fanatics. Can this incident be regarded as an uprising of the masses, or as an attack of one part of the population upon another? No; it was merely the carrying out of a wicked order given by those in authority.

Now recall the testimony of the witness Beila Chadschi and of many others, to the effect that various persons mocked the Jews some days before Easter, saying: "Why do you decorate your houses for the coming festival? Don't you know that an order has been issued to kill all of you?" This conviction prevailed generally. It is, therefore, certainly the duty of the court, first of all, to determine the real authors of these rumors, who concocted them, and scattered them like a firebrand among the people—this unprecedented shameless lie of an imperial edict commending to kill the Jews because they are alleged to be enemies of the Czar!

In contrast with the hope expressed by some of the lawyers for the defense, I do not look upon this pending case with the eyes of an optimist. I hardly believe that the law will succeed in convicting and punishing all the really guilty ones. There are moments in history when the full truth can not be revealed, and I believe that we are now confronting such a moment; but this must not prevent the judge from faithfully doing his duty. He must employ all the means which the law puts at his command. I will definitely state the facts and circumstances which indicate to me the organization and planning of the excesses. They are those facts which not

only have not been sufficiently brought out, but have even been carefully concealed in the preliminary examination.

I beg you to note the circumstances attending the events of April 20th. An unusually large number of troops were in the city, sufficient to suppress the riot; the companies were in readiness, in expectation of orders, but were entirely inactive. The Jews had been disarmed, and were not permitted to gather together and defend themselves. Then a terrible thing happened, as if on a given signal. Gangs of men dispersed through the streets, and excesses, similar in nature, broke out simultaneously in a great many places throughout the city. Is that an outbreak of popular hatred? No! It was stated in the note of the government that some quarrel between the Jewish proprietor of the *karoussell* and a Christian woman had occasioned the general commotion, but this statement has been shown in the preliminary examination to be false. It appears that a fictitious cause was brought forward, since there was no real one. If there really had been a cause the disorders would have taken a different, normal course within certain defined limits. A spark may cause a conflagration in a certain place. But here the flames broke out in a hundred widely separate places. They were the work of incendiaries, and not the consequence of natural causes.

And how suddenly did all the rioting cease, how suddenly did all this storm subside, which has been interpreted as an outbreak of deep-seated hatred! In a twinkling, order was restored almost completely. It was not necessary to fire a shot when it became known that the word had been given "by superior command" to

put an end to the excesses. They ceased at once. Is an excited populace, acting on the irresistible impulse of the moment, so easily quieted? The excesses began and ended as if directed by a magic wand. The occurrences were like a strange, new play, of which the beginning and end were announced according to program.

You must admit, gentlemen of the court, that I do not deviate a particle from the truth, and that even according to the official minutes, so much damage was done within the space of a few hours, that the judicial examiner spent several days in investigating the matter. It may be said, in view of well-authenticated facts, that the entire city of Kishinef was transformed into a gigantic Roman circus, presenting before the eyes of the amused troops and the applauding populace the terrible spectacle of enraged beasts set upon helpless victims; then comes the signal "Enough!" and the horrible spectacle ceases suddenly. I assert that the course of the occurrences furnishes the best proof of the fact that they were connected and planned. . . .

[Karabtschewski, in continuing his speech, analyzed Kruschewan's agitation in the *Bessarabetz*, and his connection with "patriotic" instigators like Pronin and illiterate men like Stepanoff. He finally referred to the mysterious mission of Levendall, who was proved to have been acquainted with the agitation and the plans of Kruschewan, who played such a sorry rôle during the excesses.]

It is sufficient to point out that ex-Governor von Raaben was ready to go out and issue orders to have the exces-

ses put down, but was prevented by a word from Levendall. And what did Levendall say? He himself would have to be examined, but he was not cited; nor was Governor von Raaben cited, who is perhaps less guilty than has been generally assumed. He himself may have been the victim of deceit and of false official reports. So long as all these circumstances are ignored by the court, and are not included in the trial, my colleagues and I deem it impossible to conduct the cases of the private plaintiffs.

#### **The Last Batch of Witnesses**

The witnesses who were examined on the following days repeated the same story, under different forms, of the excesses countenanced by the police. Especially noteworthy was the testimony of HIRSCH MENDEL RUDI, a highly respected and formerly wealthy man, who was entirely ruined on April 20th. He kept his whole fortune, consisting of cash and valuables to the amount of about 30,000 rubles, at home in two iron safes. As he saw the rioters approaching his house, he hurried to Governor von Raaben, in whose anteroom he found the directors of the Jewish community who had come to ask protection for their people. The assembly was informed that the Governor would not rise before ten o'clock, altho the excesses had commenced at six o'clock in the morning, and the city had been in commotion the day before. At ten o'clock the Governor sent word to the petitioners to go home quietly, as suitable orders would be issued. Rudi found the rioters at work demolishing his home, altho the commissariat of the fifth police precinct is opposite his house and Police Captain Brzesow-

sky was standing at the door, surrounded by his men. The rioters spent the whole day, until ten o'clock at night, trying to blow up the safes, the police making no efforts to interfere. The rioters finally succeeded in opening the safes, and seized the contents; then they demolished what they could not carry away from the house.

After the retirement of the lawyers, the examination of the numerous Jewish witnesses became a mere farce, and they were not permitted to say anything in reference to the general character of the excesses, nor to the way in which it had been planned. On the pretense that it was not a question of a connected series of plunderings, but only of single cases of robbery, they were merely asked to give the names of the perpetrators and the extent of the damage. And as they, in most instances, could not designate any one person, or any specific act of such person, they were immediately discharged. But, on the other hand, several anti-Semitic witnesses were permitted to indulge in fantastic calumnies of the Jews of Kishinef collectively, and lawyer Schmakoff brought up the most vile accusations against the Jews, on pretense of questioning the witnesses.

#### **Speech of Public Prosecutor DSCHIBELLI**

Public Prosecutor DSCHIBELLI delivered a final speech, in which he denied the planning of the excesses, ascribing them to the undying hatred against the Jews, which he admitted to have been fanned by Kruschewan's articles. (The presiding judge did not permit any reference to Pronin, Stepanoff, and other real instigators.) He said that punishment should be meted out in order

to assure the people that life and property must be protected, and that the rioters should not think that murder and robbery were permitted. Schmakoff's speech turned out to be a violent attack on the Jews. He declared that he believed them equal to any infamies, that they committed ritual murder, and that they intended to attack the Christians, who had merely defended themselves.

### Sentence

On December 21st sentence was pronounced on the first group of the accused, in presence of the new Governor-General of Bessarabia, Prince Urussoff, special measures being taken to preserve order.

The sentence was as follows: Twenty-five out of the thirty-seven accused are found guilty of having attacked Jewish property with intent of robbery, having made a compact to that effect with each other and with other persons whose guilt is not proved. Two out of these twenty-five, who are also accused of murder—namely, Girtschin, the slayer of young Baranowitsch, and Marasjuk, the slayer of Galanter—are sentenced to imprisonment at hard labor, Girtschin for the period of seven years, and Marasjuk for the period of five years.

Twenty-two of the accused are sentenced to enrollment in the prisoners' company for the period of one to two years, and one of the accused is sentenced to six months' imprisonment. Twelve of the accused are discharged. No notice will be taken of the forty-eight civil cases brought up. The persons sentenced will bear the costs of the trial.





## DANIEL BEGUB ARAYOT

*(Daniel in the Lions' Den)*

BY DAVID FRISCHMAN

*Translated from the Hebrew by Alter Abelson*

I flee from men  
More cruel than beasts  
And I fly to you,  
Wild beasts of this den.  
Here I may have rest ;  
Here I see a covert  
Where man is not.  
Blessed be ye, beasts of the forest.

When the purple of twilight enwraps the  
thicket  
The forest slumbers ;  
The lioness gives suck to her whelps,  
Licking their manes,  
And tells the young lions  
The awful, the terrible things  
That men do unto men—  
Such things as men alone can do,  
Such things as beasts do not.  
The young lions will listen ;  
They will open their jaws in wonder ;  
The breasts of the lioness will slip from their  
teeth ;  
The milk will stop on their tongues,  
And they will not believe.

Lo ! I was a child unto my parents.  
Where are now my parents ?  
Where is my father ?  
Where is my mother ?  
Oh, the scenes I beheld  
In those dreadful days !  
Like lead are they sunken into my soul,  
And fixed they stand before me ;  
They ever, ever stand fast,  
Altho I called them not !

Know you where is my father ?  
Know you where is my mother ?  
When last I beheld them, I saw  
The crown alone of a head  
Mangled, bruised, and crushed :  
One temple broken and pierced with nails,  
And cleaving to flakes of flesh  
That erst were a body—  
That was my father.

I saw a mass of flesh, clotted, torn,  
And trodden under foot :  
A shriveled thigh, an abdomen,  
Rent, shapeless, undistinguishable,  
Quivering in the ruins of a home.  
“ See,” men said, “ thy mother ! ”

I saw my brother ; he saw me not :  
His eyes were put out.

I made toward him; he stirred not toward me:  
His feet were cut off.  
I clasped him; he did not embrace me:  
His hands were hewn off.  
I spoke to him; he answered me not  
His tongue was cut out.  
Still, he's alive!

I had a sister.  
My sister! Ask not about her.  
Hush! not a word—  
Not a word will I say.  
Oh, might the sun be quenched  
And darkness reign over the world,  
That no man see  
When I grow red in face, when I blush  
For the shame of my father's house.

At twilight,  
When the lioness gives suck to her  
whelps,  
And tells the young lions  
The awful, the terrible things,  
They will listen, they will wonder,  
And they will not believe.

Yea, pregnant women—  
The source of blessing,  
The womb that bears new life  
And weaves in secret  
A tender, a delicate flower,

Ever revered as a shrine—  
Men, born of women,  
Have beaten with rods,  
Have torn, have disemboweled,  
And have shown their dead shame to the  
world.

Nay, babes, the type of innocence,  
Ever deemed by all men  
The flower of hope of a future unborn—  
Babes, who knew not what happened,  
Who knew not the cause,  
The aim, the reason, the purpose—  
By hands that faltered not,  
That trembled not, that shook not,  
Were cast from the housetops  
And shattered alive on the pavement.

Nay, the dead, by which the savage,  
Even the savage in the wilderness,  
Stands in awe, in trembling, in reverence—  
Even the dead were abused, were defiled,  
were polluted  
Shamefully, unspeakably !  
So man did to man !

A weary, persecuted, afflicted refugee,  
Barely escaped with my soul,  
I come to you, wild beasts ;  
Here I may rest.

Were in one scale the pity of men,  
In another the fury of beasts,  
I would fall into your fury, fierce beasts,  
And not into the pity of men !  
Should you leap on me, tear me,  
Content would I die,  
Knowing at least  
They were beasts of the forest that did it !



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